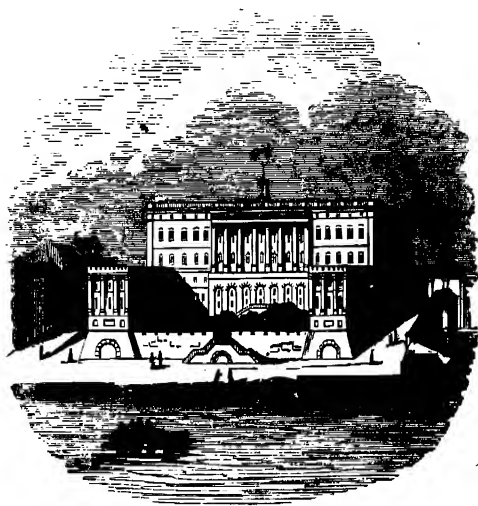


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SCANDINAVIA.



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SCANDINAVIA,

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

CHAPTER I.

From the Reformation to the Thirty Years' War.

New Epoch in Scandinavian History—The Throne of Sweden made Hereditary in the Family of Wasa—Death of Gustavus, and Accession of Erik XIV.—Fickle Character of this Prince—His Courtships—His Quarrels with the Russians and Poles—Persecution of the Sture Family—Rupture with Denmark—Expedition of Frederick II. against the Dithmarschen—Their brave Resistance and final Subjugation—Seven Years' War with Sweden—Naval Battles in the Baltic—Erik XIV. deposed—Peace of Stettin—Death and Character of Frederick II.—Attempts to restore the Catholic Religion in Sweden—Hostilities with Russia—King of Poland succeeds to the Swedish Crown—Abdication of Sigismund, and Accession of Charles IX.—War of Calmar between Denmark and Sweden—Peace of Knærod—Military Exploits of Gustavus Adolphus—Auspicious Commencement of his Reign—Hostilities with Poland—Peace concluded.

WE are now approaching that epoch in Northern history when the Scandinavian states, hitherto engrossed with their own internal affairs, and almost insulated from the great system of European policy, first came into close contact with the southern nations of Christendom. The transactions connected with these three

kingdoms,—their wars, foreign and domestic,—are so interwoven and blended together, that although the Union of Calmar no longer existed, a community of interests and an identity of public events still remained, which it would be prejudicial to treat in separate detail. To avoid unnecessary repetition, therefore, the several branches of our historical analysis shall henceforth be embodied in one continuous narrative.

The monarchs who successively filled the thrones of these dominions, from the era of the Reformation to the present time, are exhibited under one view in the following table :—

DENMARK AND NORWAY.		SWEDEN.	A. D.
<i>House of Oldenburg.</i>		Gustavus Adolphus	1632
Frederick II.....	1588	Christina abdicated	1654
Christian IV.....	1648	<i>House of Deux-Ponts.</i>	
Frederick III.....	1670	Charles X.....	1660
Christian V.....	1699	Charles XI.....	1697
Frederick IV.....	1730	Charles XII.....	1718
Christian VI.....	1746	Ulrica Eleanora }	1751
Frederick V.....	1760	Frederick of Hesse }	
Christian VII.....	1808	<i>House of Holstein-Gottorp.</i>	
Frederick VI. (associate sovereign 1784), reigning in.....	1837	Adolphus Frederick.....	1771
		Gustavus III. assassinated	1792
		Gustavus IV. deposed	1809
		Charles XIII.....	1818
<i>House of Wasa.</i>		SWEDEN AND NORWAY.	
Erik XIV. deposed.....	1568	Charles John (Bernadotte), reigning in.....	
John	1592		1837
Sigismund deposed.....	1600		
Charles IX.....	1611		

The elevation of Gustavus Wasa to the throne as king of all Sweden and the two Gothlands; his establishment of the Lutheran doctrines as the religion of the kingdom; and the signal triumph he achieved for his country, by liberating it from the Danish yoke, have been related in the preceding chapters of this work. By his valour and moderation he defeated all the intrigues of Frederick I. and Christian III., who endeavoured to recover the Swedish crown by exciting his subjects to rebellion. In 1527, a peasant named Hans was induced to personate Nils Sture, son to the late administrator, and to stir up a revolt in Dalecarlia, with a view to obtain the sovereignty; but the impostor

was detected, and the insurgents compelled to lay down their arms. A conspiracy against the king's life, formed by the burghers of Stockholm, was also discovered and defeated; and in 1542 the throne was rendered hereditary in the family of Gustavus, by a decree of the states assembled at Westeraas.*

By this act, not only was his power confirmed, and his patriotic services rewarded, but all future claims of Denmark on the crown were most effectually excluded. His son, Prince Erik, then eleven years of age, was chosen his successor,—the right of inheritance being extended to his male descendants successively; with this restriction, however, that whenever the male line became extinct, the election of a new king should devolve on the states and the senate. By this deed, called the Act of Hereditary Union, the treaty of Calmar was absolutely cancelled, and all prospect of its revival finally cut off.

Having restored tranquillity, and fixed the independence of Sweden on a solid foundation, Gustavus applied his mind to the arts of peace, and the encouragement of science and commerce. Men of genius in every profession were patronized; the cities were adorned with elegant and useful edifices; the army and marine were organized on a better plan; naval architecture was improved, and the merchants of every country invited to the ports of his kingdom. With a view to strengthen the power and influence of his family, he proposed a matrimonial alliance between Prince Erik and Queen Elizabeth of England. Ambassadors were sent to London to promote the match; but the negotiation made no progress, and after a short residence they returned without effecting the object of their mission.

* Loccen. lib. vi. Vertot, *Revolut. de Suède*, tom. ii. One of the most dangerous conspiracies in his whole reign was that of Thure Johansen (1529), a discontented chief, who induced the inhabitants of Dalecarlia, Smaland, and East Gothland, to abjure their allegiance to Gustavus. But tranquillity was restored by the king's prudence and moderation. Forsell, *Statist.* p. 65. Vertot, tom. ii. p. 60, *et seq.*



Gustavus Wasa.

Meanwhile the king was attacked at Stockholm with a slow fever, which carried him off on the 7th of September 1560, in the seventieth year of his age. Before his death he had taken the precaution to make a final arrangement regarding the succession, by assigning portions to his younger sons, and strongly recommending them to cultivate unanimity and render allegiance to their elder brother, if they wished to avoid the fatal consequences of civil commotion. His body was interred at Upsala, and his funeral obsequies celebrated amidst the tears and praises of his subjects. No monarch was ever more universally esteemed, or more sincerely regretted. His character was indeed extraordinary, considering the circumstances of the times in which he flourished. In an age of ignorance he became learned ; in a country the most barbarous he organized a system of perfect civilisation ; among a nation of slaves he restored public liberty, and set the consciences of men

free from the tyranny of spiritual thralldom. He seemed formed in every thing to excel the rest of mankind,—uniting all the accomplishments that constitute the statesman, the warrior, the patriot, the Christian, and the hero. By his wise counsels and masterly policy, he raised the power and reputation of his government to a height which rendered his name dear to his own countrymen, and the admiration of all Europe.*

Prince Erik ascended the vacant throne at the age of twenty-seven ; but he possessed neither the abilities nor the virtues of his father. He had indeed the advantages of a finished education, and was skilled in all the elegant and manly exercises suitable to his rank. But his endowments were rather striking than solid ; whilst his violent and impetuous temper hurried him from one imprudence to another, until it cost him his kingdom. At the very commencement of his reign he quarrelled with his brothers respecting the portions of land and money assigned to them by their father. He incurred the displeasure of the nobility by passing a decree, the object of which was to regulate the period of military service in the field, the sum each was required to advance, and the force he was to maintain for the king's use in case of civil or foreign war.

In nothing was his inconstancy more conspicuous than in the fickleness of his courtships. He resumed the treaty of marriage with Queen Elizabeth, and embarked for England, where he intended to appear with all the magnificence becoming a prince ; but he was overtaken by a storm on the voyage, and narrowly escaped shipwreck. This accident seems to have diverted his passion to a new object, for he immediately transferred his affections to Mary of Scotland, the most beautiful and accomplished woman of her age. Ambassadors were despatched to Edinburgh to solicit her hand ; but scarcely had the deputation left Copenhagen, when he sent other ministers to the Imperial court to demand

* Puffendorf, tom. i. p. 384. Vertot, tom. ii. p. 249.

the Princess of Lorraine, daughter of Christian II., with whom he fell deeply in love, from the description of her charms given by some of his own retinue.

The latter embassy returned with a favourable answer, but Erik had changed his mind before their arrival. Although the nation was engaged in war with Denmark, the indulgence of his gallantry was not to be repressed on that account. Commissioners were ordered to repair to Hesse-Cassel, and charged not to return without the Landgrave's daughter, for whose safe conveyance an escort of twelve men of war was put to sea, under the command of Admiral Bagge. The squadron encountered the Danish fleet near the island of Berkholm, and after an obstinate engagement, the enemy were defeated, with the loss of four ships captured, 900 prisoners, and about 600 officers and marines killed. The admiral proceeded on his voyage, but the negotiation proved unsuccessful.

At length, after making proposals to almost every court in Europe, Erik espoused the daughter of a peasant in his own kingdom, named Catherine, a retailer of fruit, who from being his mistress was promoted to the dignity of Queen of Sweden. The unaccountable ascendancy which this woman had gained over his affections was ascribed, in that superstitious age, to the administration of philters or charmed potions ; but it arose entirely from the violence and caprice of his temper, which often hurried him into such furious paroxysms, as to render it necessary to apply personal constraint. His matrimonial expeditions, while they made him appear ridiculous in the eyes of his neighbours, inflicted a severe blow on the finances of the country, by wasting in fruitless negotiations the vast treasures which his predecessor had accumulated with much care and prudence.

The marriage of his brother John, duke of Finland, with the daughter of Sigismund, king of Poland, was the occasion of a bitter feud, which had nearly involved the kingdom in all the expenses and disasters of civil

war. Erik happened at that time to be implicated in a quarrel with the Russians and Poles, respecting the commerce of Livonia, which had converted that fertile province into a scene of strife, confusion, and bloodshed. Whilst one of his armies carried on hostile operations there, and succeeded in gaining possession of eight cities and castles, all garrisoned with Polish troops, another was despatched to reduce Finland. The town of Abo was taken by stratagem ; Duke John, his wife and family, with the whole of their domestics, were conducted prisoners to Stockholm, where they were accused of rebellion, and condemned to death, without hope of pardon except from the royal clemency. Such of the offenders as were natives underwent the penalty of the law, and foreigners were expelled the kingdom ; the life of the unfortunate prince was saved, but he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, with the confiscation of all his property. If we may credit the reports of that age, Erik frequently repaired to the dungeon with intent to commit murder, but on beholding the duke, he melted into pity, threw himself at his feet, confessed his bloody purpose, and implored forgiveness. At length, after a period of nearly four years, the king, at the request of the nobles, who foresaw the danger of prolonging these fraternal discords, consented, upon certain conditions, to liberate the prisoner,—a measure which was hailed with the greatest joy by the nation.

Scarcely had this happy reconciliation taken place, when the kingdom was plunged into fresh troubles, originating in the cruel persecution of the Sture family. Nils or Nikolas, the representative of the only remaining branch of the ancient race of the administrators, had been unjustly suspected by Erik of being an accomplice in the alleged conspiracy of his brother to seize the crown. Yielding to the blind impulse of vindictive feeling, he ordered that nobleman to be conducted, in the most ignominious manner, to the capital, mounted on a peasant's horse, with a crown of straw upon his head, and exposed to the scoffs and derision of the popu-

lace. This indignity to a personage of the first rank and merit, filled the public mind with hatred and disgust. But the capricious vengeance of the king did not rest satisfied with this humiliating exhibition ; he endeavoured to convince the states that Nikolas had conceived a guilty passion for the queen ; that he was ambitious of recovering the power possessed by his ancestors ; and had carried on dangerous intrigues against his sovereign, whilst ambassador at Stralsund. A slight pretext was only wanting to determine the extirpation of the whole family. The circumstance of a page belonging to Sture being found at court armed with a pistol, was construed into an attempt to assassinate the king ; torture was employed to extort confession that he was the secret emissary of his master ; but the faithful domestic continued firm, alike unmoved by the promises and torments of his accusers.

This scheme having miscarried, another stratagem was adopted, equally disgraceful. Proofs of a conspiracy were fabricated by means of forged letters and other documents, the genuineness of which was attested by bribed witnesses. On this false evidence, a great number of the adherents and relations of the doomed family were arrested ; and although their innocence was clearly established, the whole of the prisoners were cruelly massacred ; Nikolas himself being stabbed by the king with his own poniard, to whom he had generously presented it as a pledge of his loyalty. The bloody deed was carefully concealed, until Ivar Peerson, one of the court satellites, obliged the states to pass sentence of capital punishment upon the dead bodies, by which he hoped to wipe away this guilty stain on the honour of his master.

But neither the triumph of revenge nor the declaration of acquittal could assuage the pangs of a guilty conscience. Erik became frantic with remorse, and in a fit of despair took shelter in the woods, attired in the habit of a peasant, and prowling about like a savage. His retreat was at last discovered, and through the in-

fluence of the queen, he was brought back to the capital and prevailed upon to take food and repose. His passions now turned in a new direction; he lavished his generosity on the friends and relations of the deceased; distributed large sums of money among the senators to engage them in his interest; and cast the entire blame of his cruelties on Peerson, who was accordingly condemned for this and other high crimes and misdemeanors, and executed as a traitor on a gibbet before the walls of the city.

The most prominent events in the reign of Erik were the Livonian war and his rupture with the Danes. In the former his arms continued successful, until the unfortunate attempt to recover Pernau in 1566, where he lost the greater part of his troops, and had the remainder swept off by the terrible ravages of the plague. His quarrel with Denmark was equally calamitous, and attended with no better result; but before entering into any narrative of these transactions, it will be necessary briefly to advert to the affairs of that country.

Frederick II. had succeeded, on the death of his father Christian III., to the crown of the united kingdoms; but the peaceful commencement of his reign was soon interrupted by an event which entailed on both nations the disastrous consequence of a sanguinary war.* The late monarch had partitioned the duchies of Sleswig and Holstein between himself and his two brothers, Adolphus and John, according to the previous usages of the feudal times, which regarded government not as a trust, but a patrimony, wherein every male member of the reigning family was entitled to a share. This division became the perennial root of dissensions between the royal and ducal houses, of which posterity reaped

* Huitfeldt's Chronicle (*Danmarkis Ruges Kronike*) begins where Saxo terminates his history, and ends with the reign of Christian III. Resenius, the editor of the first edition of Snorre's Edda, compiled a chronicle of the reign of Frederick II., from which Holberg and other modern Danish historians have drawn their principal materials.

the bitter fruits. Adolphus was the founder of the line of Holstein-Gottorp, whose long and deadly hostility to the kingly race of Denmark was not appeased until the accession of his descendants to the Russian throne, when its remaining claims to the duchy of Holstein were exchanged for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, the patrimonial inheritance of the Danish crown.

Frederick had no sooner ascended the throne than he formed a compact with his uncle, the Duke of Holstein, to avenge the disgraceful defeat of King John by the Dithmarschen in the war of 1500, and to divide between them the territory of that heroic people. Ever since the memorable invasion of that year, which they had so nobly repelled, their vassalage to the Danish sovereign was merely nominal; and having been closely allied with the Hanseatic republics in the war against Christian III., that monarch had expressly recognised their national independence in the treaty of peace with the Confederation, concluded at Hamburg in 1536. Meantime the principles of the Reformation had been introduced among them by the disciples of Luther, who maintained a long and bloody strife with the bigoted professors of the ancient religion, whose blind fury was stimulated by the factious hatred of the Dominican monks against their rivals of the Augustinian order, to which the German reformer and his missionaries had belonged. The evangelical faith at length triumphed over these obstacles, and became the established creed of this warlike community.

The Protestant princes of Holstein, instead of regarding them with favour as brethren united in the bonds of a common Christianity, allowed their inveterate enmity and their lust of dominion to quench every generous and kindly feeling. Pretexts for this unjust aggression were easily found in the wild excesses of a half-civilized people, committed in their border forays on the lands of the neighbouring states, not unfrequently in retaliation of wrongs inflicted by those with whom they could hardly ever be said to live in habits of assured peace.

The force levied for their subjugation by the allied princes consisted of 25,000 men, embracing the flower of the nobility and knighthood of Denmark and Holstein, with their feudal retainers, and several bands of mercenaries trained in the imperial wars. Against this formidable array, the Dithmarschen, who had been abandoned by the Hanseatic towns, could only muster about 7000 fighting-men.

The supreme command in this expedition, deemed one of great difficulty and doubtful issue, was conferred on the renowned John Rantzau, whose head, already adorned with the laurels of many a sharply-contested field, was now whitened with the snows of nearly seventy winters. The campaign commenced in May, that season being reckoned favourable to the invaders, when the dryness of the marshes would facilitate their access to the interior. The capture of Meldorp opened to them the whole southern part of the province extending to the banks of the Elbe. Towards the Eyder another stronghold, called Tilleburg, was taken, after a short but gallant resistance. The inhabitants now resolved to make their last desperate stand in the capital, where all their most valuable effects were deposited; but here new and worse calamities awaited them. The external works were carried after a severe conflict, in which Frederick signalized his courage, and Duke Adolphus was severely wounded. The gates were burst open, but the garrison barricaded the streets, and defended themselves with their artillery and fire-arms, until Rantzau gave orders to set fire to the town, as the only means of compelling them to retreat. The inhabitants were pursued by the cavalry in every direction; whilst the soldiers entered the houses, committing havock and plunder without restraint. Those that escaped the sword perished in the flames; a few saved themselves by crawling along the dikes and ditches under cloud of night; but the greater part nobly sold their lives in this last struggle for their country's independence.

Nothing remained, therefore, but to solicit the mercy

of the invaders. Three of the clergy were accordingly sent as heralds to the royal camp, bearing in their hands white staves, with an open letter addressed to the princes, under the long-disputed title of "Lords of Dithmarsch," imploring leave to negotiate for terms of peace. The hard condition of paying a war contribution of 600,000 florins, was modified at the earnest entreaty of the deputation, who represented the utter impossibility of levying so large a sum from a wasted and ruined country. The treaty was finally ratified in June 1559, on which occasion all the remaining inhabitants, including 4000 fighting men, with their women and children, came in a body to surrender their arms and munitions of war, and to do homage to the victors.* The whole body, disarmed and barcheaded, with white staves in their hands, fell on their knees, and swore with uplifted hands henceforth to bear true allegiance to the king and the dukes, and their posterity for ever, as their liege lords and lawful sovereigns. At the same time they surrendered all the trophies taken in the war of 1500, amongst which was a tattered moth-eaten fragment of the famous standard of the Dannebrog, that had been suspended for more than fifty years in one of their churches. Thus fell, under a state of hopeless vassalage, a brave and ancient race, who had maintained an almost incessant struggle for their national independence since the days of Charlemagne.†

* This multitude was crowded together in the midst of the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in battle-array; one of their clergy, apprehensive of perfidy, imparted his fears, in the Latin language, to a companion who stood near him; he was overheard by Henry Rantzau, son of the general (to whom we are indebted for a history of this remarkable campaign, written under the assumed name of Ciliacus Cimber), who instantly assured him, in the same tongue, that no breach of faith was intended. Crantz. Bell. Dith. tom. ii. p. 20.

† The most important details of the Dithmarschen war are to be found in the narratives of John and Henry Rantzau, the principal actors in that bloody scene. These, together with the original authorities, have been extremely well digested into an elegant historical work, published in 1813, by Professor Molbech, under the title of *Historie om Ditmarskenkrigen, anno 1500, og Ditmarsken Erobring, under Kong Frederik II.*

Frederick celebrated the triumph gained in this expedition by performing the ceremony of his coronation at Copenhagen with splendid shows and tournaments. His crown was purchased by signing a capitulation with the senate, which rendered him even more completely the slave of his nobility than any of his predecessors. He expressly acknowledged Denmark to be a free and elective kingdom, and confirmed all the former rights and privileges of the aristocracy ; promising not to confer the same on any "unfree man," or commoner, without the advice of the senatorial order, whose consent was also made necessary to a declaration of war, and every other important act of sovereignty.

It was shortly after these transactions that a circumstance occurred, apparently of trivial moment, which involved the nation in a quarrel with Sweden. Erik XIV., whose unhappy temper embroiled his subjects in perpetual troubles, had remonstrated with Frederick II. against his continuing to wear, in the Danish arms, the three crowns, commemorative of the Calmar Union, which he regarded as a design to perpetuate the ancient pretensions of Denmark to the Swedish sceptre. Not obtaining a satisfactory answer to these remonstrances, Erik retaliated by inserting the arms of the rival kingdom in the royal banner of Sweden. This seemingly puerile freak, under which was thinly veiled the dormant feud between these bordering nations, furnished the ostensible pretext for a long and bloody war, which exhausted the resources of both states, and was at last terminated without any permanent result of solid advantage to either.

Frederick entered into an alliance with Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, the declared object of which was to drive the Swedes out of Livonia, and compel them to renounce their claims to any part of Norway or the Danish provinces beyond the Sound. The city of Lubeck also made common cause with Denmark, having taken offence at the revocation of the exclusive commercial immunities enjoyed by the Hanseatic republic

in the ports of Sweden. The combined naval force of these two powers was intrusted to the command of the celebrated Danish admirals, Peter Skram, and Herulf Trolle, who frequently encountered the hostile fleet in the Baltic, with a result sometimes dubious, but more generally favourable to the enemy.

The cause of this indecision is mainly attributable to the fact, that the revolution which the invention of gunpowder was destined to produce in naval warfare, was then only in its infancy. The use of cannons, long firelocks, and arquebusses on board, had been introduced in the time of John ; but the art made slow progress, and Skram was the first Danish admiral who commanded a fleet properly equipped with artillery, in the great victory which he obtained in 1535 over the forces of Lubeck, near the isle of Bornholm. At that period, the vessels were of small construction, and ill manned ; their officers in general, instead of seamen, were knights or nobles, who made little use of their guns at long shot ; the main object of their naval tactics being, as in the wars of the Middle Ages, to bring these floating batteries as near together as possible, in order to decide the contest by boarding.

The belligerent states continued their hostile encounters, victory apparently inclining to neither side. In 1563, the veteran Skram, with a fleet of twenty-seven sail, manned by 6400 seamen and soldiers, brought the enemy to action close to the isle of Oland, but as usual without any decisive result. The Danes, however, still maintained their superiority in the Baltic, and in course of the following year another armament, commanded by Herulf Trolle, and reinforced with six ships of war from Lubeck, sailed from Copenhagen roads, and encountered the enemy's squadron in the channel between Oland and Gothland. The ship of the Swedish Admiral Bagge, called the *Makolas* or *Mars*, and described as being of colossal size, carrying 173 brass and iron guns of various calibres, was in fact only equal to a line of battle ship of seventy-four guns of modern construction ; the rest were

much smaller. The engagement was obstinate ; fighting continued the whole day, and after the interruption of the night was renewed next morning, when the *Mars* being surrounded, was captured, and the admiral taken prisoner. She was then set on fire and blown up with 880 Swedes and Danes on board, all of whom were either drowned or consumed in the flames. Vice-admiral Fleming assumed the command, and endeavoured to renew the action, but he soon afterwards retired into port, leaving his antagonists masters of the sea for the remainder of the year.

In 1565, Admiral Horn, with a superior force, pursued the Danish fleet to the batteries of Copenhagen, swept the Sound of the merchant-vessels navigating under the enemy's flag, and levied the accustomed duties on such foreign bottoms as he had intercepted in his adventurous career. At length, the combined fleet of Denmark and Lubeck encountered the Swedish squadron on the coast of Pomerania ; but the former were beaten, with the loss of their high-admiral Herulf Trolle, who received a mortal wound, and was succeeded in the command by Otto Rud. A second engagement took place off Bornholm, which again ended in the defeat of the Danes, who lost several vessels, including the admiral's ship. Rud himself was taken prisoner, and the Swedes obtained the ascendancy in the Baltic during the rest of the season.

Next spring, Horn sailed from Stockholm with a fleet of sixty-eight ships, and once more encountered the enemy near Oland. The action was broken off by a storm which completely separated the combatants. The Swedes reached their own coast in safety, but the Danish and Lubeck squadrons were wrecked on the isle of Gothland. Ten ships with upwards of 5000 men perished in the waves ; and from this disaster the navy never recovered during the remainder of the war.

Meanwhile the coasts of the two kingdoms and the frontier provinces on the land side were laid waste with unsparing ferocity. To revenge the loss of Elfsborg, Erik

entered Halland and Bleking, which he ravaged without mercy. His troops at the same time invaded Norway, and gained possession of Trondheim, with some other towns, but they were soon deprived of these conquests by the energy of the viceroy. The fortress of Warberg having been taken by the Swedes in 1565, Daniel Rantzau, an officer who had served with distinction in the Dithmarschen war, proceeded at the head of the Danish land-forces to attempt its recapture, when he received intelligence that the enemy were approaching with a superior force, to cut off his retreat into Scania. His little army, amounting only to 5000 men, he entrenched on a moor near the ford of the Falkenberg, whilst his antagonists, whose numbers were more than double, advanced to the attack, determined to dispute his passage across the river. The Danes were harangued by their gallant general, who endeavoured to inspire them with his own confident courage, not by disguising the danger, but by setting it clearly before them in all its magnitude. The whole army, following the example of their leader, knelt on the ground, and with uplifted hands invoked the aid of Heaven. The Swedes commenced their attack with a distant cannonading ; but finding they could not draw the enemy from his entrenchments, they boldly rushed to the assault, and penetrated the field-works of the Danish infantry, until they were driven out and ultimately defeated with great slaughter, the loss of their artillery, and about 6000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

In 1567, Rantzau made an incursion into West Gothland, and advanced from Wadstena to Linköping and Söderköping, which latter towns were burnt and pillaged by his soldiers. The Swedes harassed his march, and attempted to cut off his retreat by breaking up the roads and intercepting supplies ; but they were again encountered and defeated, with the loss of their baggage, cannon, camp equipage, and several officers taken prisoners. With these trophies of his victory, the Danish general reached the Scanian frontier in the dead of

winter, after suffering incredible hardships from the ruggedness of the country and the inclemency of the season.

In course of the same year Erik despatched an expedition to Norway, the inhabitants of which were represented as desirous to shake off the Danish yoke; but on his army reaching that country, they found that the people, instead of hailing them as their deliverers, attacked them as enemies, and obliged them to return disappointed, harassed, fatigued, and reduced to the last extremities.

The degenerate son of Gustavus had now, by his follies and crimes, completed the measure of his misfortunes. His capricious cruelties had alienated the minds of his subjects; whilst the nobles, indignant at his base treatment of the Sture family, sought with eagerness an opportunity of revenge. Duke John, although he had consented, as the main condition of his liberty, to renounce all claims to the crown, had acceded to that stipulation as extorted from him by force, and with a full determination to break it without scruple. At length the discontented party, exasperated by the king's treacheries, publicly threw off their allegiance (1568), declared war, and besieged the infatuated monarch in his own capital. His adherents defended themselves with skill and intrepidity, until they were compelled by the tumults of the citizens to open the gates. Erik was immediately seized, and committed to the custody of the surviving friends of the nobles massacred at Upsala. The senate and the states revoked their oaths of fidelity, and solemnly elected John to the vacant throne.*

* The deposed monarch was immediately imprisoned in the castle of Stockholm, where he endured every species of persecution and indignity, "exceedingly tormented (as he himself relates) with hunger, cold, stench, and darkness." He often wanted the common necessaries of life, and was sometimes insulted and cruelly beaten by his keepers. These unnatural severities having excited a feeling of compassion, caused frequent changes in the place of his confinement. From Stockholm he was transferred to Abo, thence to Castleholm in one of the Aland isles; in 1570 he was removed to

The first act of the new sovereign was to punish the authors of the infamous murders that disgraced the late reign ; and his next was to send an embassy to Copenhagen, with a view to adopt measures for putting an end to the fruitless war which, for seven years, had desolated the kingdom. Negotiations were accordingly opened at Roskilde in 1568, which terminated in the signature of a treaty of peace ; but when its conditions were known at Stockholm, the king declined to ratify them, alleging that they were at once dishonourable to Sweden, and contrary to the instructions given to his ambassadors. Hostilities were in consequence renewed, and in the following year Frederick II. commenced operations in person by the recapture of Warberg,—a conquest which was dearly bought with the loss of his two ablest generals, Rantzau and Franz Brokenhuus, who both fell during the protracted siege.

At length the belligerent parties began to weary of a war productive of nothing but barren trophies and mutual destruction. A new treaty of peace was therefore signed at Stettin in 1570, by which the ancient boundaries between the three kingdoms were re-established. Sweden renounced her pretensions to Jamtland and

the castle of Gripsholm ; in 1573 to Westeraas ; and next year to Orebyhus, near Wendel in Upland, where he terminated his miserable existence (1577) by swallowing poison, in obedience to his brother's orders, who had charged the keeper to open his veins or strangle him under a mattress, should he refuse the fatal draught. His body was interred in the cathedral of Westeraas, where his tomb still remains, having been renewed about the beginning of the present century.—Clarke's Travels, vol. ix. c. 5. Coxe's Travels, vol. iv. b 7, c. 9. During his captivity, Erik kept a journal of what occurred to him in prison, and when deprived of his books and the society of his wife, he soothed his dreary hours with music, in which he excelled both as a performer and composer. He translated into Swedish the History of Joannes Magnus, wrote a treatise on the art of war, and composed two penitential psalms, which are inserted in the Swedish Psalter. His son Gustavus having narrowly escaped being put to death, led a wandering life of misery, and was compelled to earn a subsistence by the meanest occupations. *Celsius, Histoire d'Erick*, xiv. Dalin, *Geschichte*, &c. tom. iii. p. 538-551 ; tom. iv. p. 66-68. *Messenius, Scand. Illust.* tom. iii. vii, viii.

Herjeadalen on the Norwegian frontier, and agreed to pay 150,000 rix-dollars towards the expense of the war. Both monarchs were to have the right to quarter the three crowns on their respective arms, without prejudice to the independence of either country. A free commerce was established between the two nations, and the Swedish navigation exempted from toll in passing the Sound. Any differences that might arise regarding the interpretation of the articles of this treaty were referred to the arbitration of six senators mutually chosen ; and if either king should refuse to abide by their award, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance.

The remainder of Frederick's reign was devoted to the peaceful pursuits of internal administration. His active zeal for the Protestant religion, though doubtless sincere, was tarnished by bigotry and the intolerant maxims of the age. The unity of the Lutheran doctrines was jealously guarded by civil penalties ; and one of the most learned professors in the university of Copenhagen, Hemmingius, was deposed for the imaginary offence of publishing in Latin a treatise on the Eucharist, which was supposed to lean towards the Calvinistic interpretation of that symbolical ordinance. The Elector of Saxony had caused to be established in his own and several other states of the empire, a Formulary of Concord, which he sent to Frederick ; but the latter rejected it with indignation, as an element of discord, and even prohibited the introduction and sale of all books in which its tenets were explained or defended.*

Denmark, like other Protestant countries, might have derived advantage from the arts and industry of the persecuted subjects of the Netherlands, exiled by their bigoted princes for the crime of religious non-conformity ; but they were expelled from her inhospitable shores, by an edict requiring all foreigners settled in the kingdom to subscribe to the articles of faith professed by the national Church, otherwise to be banished

* This Formulary has since been adopted by the Danish Church as the firmest bulwark of its orthodoxy.

the realm. The intolerance of Frederick in theological matters was in some measure redeemed by his bountiful patronage of learned men, and especially of Tycho Brahe, the first Danish philosopher whose fame had extended beyond the narrow confines of his native land. He not only conferred a pension on that illustrious astronomer, but granted him the island of Huen, and assisted him to build the observatory of Uranienborg, where he pursued his studies for twenty years, until driven into banishment during the minority of Christian IV. by a cabal of jealous and ignorant courtiers.

Frederick died in 1588, at the age of fifty-four. As a monarch, his public and private character equally entitled him to the applause conferred on him by the national historians. To undaunted courage and deep penetration he joined a tender regard for justice, and a magnificence that cast a lustre on all his actions. In the general politics of Europe he took a deeper interest than any of his predecessors had done, as may be inferred from the different foreign embassies that on various occasions visited his court. In 1582 he was presented with the order of the garter by Queen Elizabeth of England; and a few years afterwards his second daughter, the Princess Anne, was married to James VI. of Scotland, whose matrimonial expedition to Copenhagen, in quest of his betrothed bride, forms one of the most amusing episodes in his diversified reign.

The peace of Stettin had been hurried to a conclusion, in order that his Swedish majesty might be at liberty to prosecute more vigorously the war in which he was engaged with the Czar Basilovitch of Russia, who had not only made incursions into Livonia, but was secretly intriguing to procure the release and restoration of Erik, whom the states had condemned to perpetual imprisonment, reversing all his public acts, and declaring his children incapable of the succession. The most extensive preparations had been made by the Czar, who threatened to overrun Finland and the whole of Sweden; but his fury received a check from a sudden irruption

of the Tartars, who pillaged and laid the city of Moscow in ashes, after having put above 30,000 of the inhabitants to the sword. To repel the meditated invasion of the Russians, John despatched an embassy to solicit assistance from James VI. of Scotland and Queen Elizabeth of England, neither of whom was disposed to embark in so hazardous an enterprise. Obligated to trust to his own resources, he sent strong reinforcements into Livonia, where the operations of the campaign were carried on with so much spirit and success, that the barbarian, humbled and defeated, was reduced to the necessity of suing for peace.

Negotiations had scarcely commenced, when they were interrupted by a mutiny of the Swedish auxiliaries. A quarrel having originated between the German cavalry and the Scottish infantry, both parties flew to arms, and fought with such desperate obstinacy, that a body of the latter, amounting to 500, was almost totally annihilated. By this accident the flames of war were rekindled, and continued to rage with increased violence until the gathering storm of civil commotion compelled the Swedish monarch to conclude a partial truce, which lasted, but with little regard to its provisions, for the space of nearly twelve years.

The troubles which prevented John from obtaining more advantageous terms with Russia, arose from his rash and impolitic attempts, at the instigation of his queen, to change the established religion, and replace it by a modified scheme of popery. This project was laid before an assembly of the clergy, who were induced, partly by motives of ambition, and partly by the influence of court favour, to give it their ready concurrence. Meetings of the bishops and general convocations were held, in order to settle disputed points among the different sects of Christians; but it was found no easy matter to adjust the balance between bigotry and enthusiasm, and for three years the kingdom was plunged in all the bitterness and confusion of theological controversy, which threatened to terminate in civil war.

Happily these imprudent efforts met with a salutary opposition from the king's brother, Duke Charles, who obliged all the ecclesiastics within his jurisdiction to sign articles, declaring their resolution never to abjure nor depart from the Confession of Augsburg. That prince had influence enough with the states to obtain a remonstrance, in very strong terms, against this dangerous innovation on the national faith ; and at the same time a request that his majesty would publicly confirm the doctrines of the Swedish Church, as established by Gustavus Wasa, and prohibit the importation of all books written by the Catholic clergy. It is probable that John, who was a warm advocate of the Romish religion, would have persevered in his original intention, as he had received the Pope's nuncio, and privately admitted a swarm of Jesuits into his dominions ; but the death of the queen, whose conversation had made him a proselyte, produced an immediate change in his policy. The foreign emissaries were banished ; the priests, who received no farther countenance from the court, saw their superstitious ceremonies fall into disrepute. Duke Charles was reconciled to his brother, who granted pardon and a general amnesty to all his adherents.

The demise of the King of Poland, brother-in-law to his Swedish majesty, opened up a source of contention, which proved the fatal cause of many subsequent misfortunes. Prince Sigismund, the eldest son of John, and nephew to the deceased monarch, being urged to advance his claim as a competitor for the vacant crown, in opposition to the Archduke Maximilian, brother of Rodolph II., was elected by a great majority ; chiefly through the influence of the queen, his mother's sister, who had gained over to her views a sufficient number of the Polish aristocracy. This high dignity, however, was purchased on conditions injurious to the peace and the interests of his native country.

The truce with Russia having expired (1589), the states agreed to its renewal for three months, as the czar had refused to conclude perpetual peace, except

on condition that Sweden should resign to him the provinces she had conquered in Livonia. In consequence of these exorbitant demands, the war was resumed with increased fury. All the Swedish fortresses in Ingermania surrendered to the Russians, whilst the king's troops were unable to gain a single advantage. In this gloomy state of affairs John suddenly expired, his death being ascribed less to the mortality of his disease than the ignorance of his physicians.

The crown now devolved on Sigismund, who obtained leave from the Polish diet to visit Sweden, but on condition that his stay should not be protracted longer than was necessary to regulate the affairs of that kingdom. Duke Charles, in the mean time, who had already been intrusted with a share of the government, undertook the administration as regent, and proceeded to adopt measures for securing the Protestant religion, which was considered to be in danger, as the new monarch had been educated by his mother in the principles of the Romish faith, and might probably attempt its restoration. Nor did the event deceive the apprehension of the Swedes. Immediately on his arrival (September 30), he betrayed his affection for popery, by insisting that a Catholic church should be established in every town and city within the realm; he annulled the decrees of the synod of Upsala; disputed the election of the archbishop; refused to be crowned by a Protestant prelate; and declared that the ceremony should be performed by Malospina, the Papal nuncio, who had accompanied him on his journey. The senate and the clergy remonstrated, but Sigismund was deaf to their entreaties. The pulpits began to sound the alarm, whilst the nobles in the interest of the regent secretly spread the flames of dissension. Disputes and altercations were followed by acts of violence on the part of the Catholic faction, who claimed the use of the Protestant churches for burying their dead with the usual ceremonies of the Romish ritual. Both parties urged their pretensions with increased warmth; the states threatened to renounce their alle-

giance, if any attempts were made to abolish the established worship ; whilst Sigismund refused to grant a single concession, unless the Catholic religion were tolerated to the extent of being preached conjointly with the Lutheran. Matters, however, were adjusted so far as to prevent the necessity of resorting to military force.

The stipulated period of absence having now expired, his majesty set sail for Dantzic, leaving the administration of Sweden in the hands of the regent. His departure was the signal for new tumults and disorders, which now broke out with increased violence. The duke having declined the onerous charge assigned him, the senate, in virtue of the late treaty with the king, proceeded to abolish the Popish religion, and expel the clergy of that communion. In Stockholm the exercise of the obnoxious worship was prohibited, under heavy penalties, within the jurisdiction of the city and suburbs. A resolution of the states was passed at Soderkoping, acknowledging the Confession of Augsburg as the only established creed, ordaining all children to be educated in that faith, under pain of being disinherited ; and declaring all Papists incapable of holding preferments or places of trust under government. To enforce this decree, Charles made the circuit of the kingdom, and was adopting measures for reducing Nikolas Flemming, the refractory governor of Finland, who had afforded an asylum to the banished priests, when he had the misfortune to quarrel with the senate, on suspicion of their holding secret intelligence with that insolent and powerful rebel.

The king, on being informed of this disagreement, ordered the regent to be excluded from any share in the administration ; but the latter immediately convoked an assembly of the states, and obtained a decree, confirming the treaty of Soderkoping, and declaring him sole governor of the kingdom during the absence of Sigismund. The senate, on declining to ratify these articles, were pronounced guilty of disobedience. The chancellor, with most of the other members, fled, and made common cause with the insurgents in Finland,

Smaland, and the two Gothlands, who threatened to invade the country with the aid of a strong reinforcement from Poland. The duke was not unprepared for this emergency ; he assembled the states of the mutinous provinces, and exacted an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants. After taking several fortresses he laid siege to Calmar, and compelled the garrison to surrender. The king, resolved to depose the regent by force of arms, despatched a powerful expedition, which landed at Calmar, where the royal standard was erected. Charles displayed equal energy ; and the kingdom might have been wasted by the desolating ravages of contending factions, had he not contrived, under cover of a thick fog, to surprise the obstinate monarch in his camp at Strangbræ, where the enemy were completely routed, the king's body-guard cut to pieces, and his person exposed to imminent danger.

The effect of this victory was the conclusion of a treaty, in which matters were so far adjusted, that Charles renewed the oath of allegiance to his sovereign ; whilst the latter not only promised oblivion for past offences, but granted several demands which he had formerly refused. The renewal of hostilities commenced on the part of the duke, who made himself master of Calmar. His next exploit was to march with an army into Finland, to reduce the inhabitants to subjection. Viborg, Narva, and some other fortresses surrendered ; a number of the principal rebels were seized and conveyed to Stockholm, where they perished on the scaffold. These successful achievements were followed up by a resolution of the states to withdraw their allegiance from Sigismund, " because he had broken his coronation-oath, infringed upon the constitution, disregarded the laws, and endangered the Protestant religion." By another act of the diet (1600), they not only excluded him from the sovereignty, but revoked the offer of the crown tendered at a previous meeting to his son Prince Vladislaus.

Every obstacle being thus removed, Duke Charles,

already vested with absolute power, was immediately elevated to the throne. In raising himself to that high dignity, he had displayed great talents and consummate address ; yet such was the alarming state of public affairs, that his election seemed to be the result of necessity. His services to the state might demand this return of gratitude, but the circumstance that most endeared him to the people, was his being the only surviving son of their favourite hero, Gustavus Wasa. The succession was made hereditary in his male descendants, and failing issue, it was to revert to Prince John (son of the late monarch) and his heirs of the male line. It was further resolved, that no future king of Sweden should marry into a Catholic family, or accept a foreign crown, under pain of forfeiting all claim to the throne.*

The first measure of Charles was to prosecute the war in Livonia, and repel the encroachments of the Poles, who had taken possession of Wittenstein, Riga, Wolmar, and several other places. His first expedition was unfortunate, having cost him the lives of 3000 men ; in a second attempt he was defeated, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy ; his third invasion was more successful, but all his advantages were lost by the impolicy of Count Mansfeldt, who, instead of vigorously pushing his conquests, vainly attempted to negotiate a treaty, the terms of which the king declined to ratify.

A revolution having occurred in Russia, Sweden became implicated in the disputes that originated from the contested succession to the throne of that country. The Scandinavian dynasty of the Ruricks having terminated with the death of Feodor I., son of Ivan Basilovitch, in 1598, the anarchy which followed the extinction of this race of princes opened the way both to foreign and domestic pretenders. The murder of Demetrius, and the elevation of Zuski in 1606, gave rise to fresh disturbances, by which Charles IX. so far profited as to obtain possession of Kexholm and

* Loccen. lib. vii. Puffend. tom. ii.

Novgorod, in recompense for the assistance he had afforded the Grand Duke against the intrigues of Sigismund, who had caused Prince Vladislaus to be crowned czar at Moscow. He had even conceived hopes of securing the glittering prize for himself, or rather for his second son, Charles Philip ; but the prosecution of this ambitious scheme, as well as the renewal of the war in Livonia, were suspended by a quarrel with Denmark, respecting the northern boundary of the kingdom.

Christian IV., when he succeeded to the Danish crown, had only attained his twelfth year. As neither the law nor usage of the realm had prescribed any fixed rule in the event of a minority, the guardianship of the young prince and the regency of the kingdom were contested between the senate and the queen-mother. But the power and influence of the aristocracy prevailed, and accordingly the senators elected four of their own body to administer the government ; whilst the provincial states of Sleswig and Holstein asserted their right to designate by election the successor of the late king, as sovereign duke of that portion of their territory which had descended to the royal branch since the separation of the two houses. This claim was formally acknowledged by the regents and the representatives of the ducal line of Holstein-Gottorp ; and it was not until the year 1616 that the succession of both branches in the duchies was rendered hereditary by a decree of the Emperor Rodolph II.

The Norwegian prelates and nobles had agreed in 1582 to recognise Christian, whom the Danish senate had nominated as their future king, and who by the law of Magnus Lagabæter, was legitimate successor to the throne. In 1591, the youthful monarch, accompanied by the four regents, sailed for Opslo (now Christiania) to receive the homage of his Norwegian subjects, who presented, on this occasion, a spirited remonstrance against the neglect and oppression to which their unhappy land had been subjected ever since the union with Denmark. The humiliation of this once renowned kingdom, which

for the next two centuries almost disappears from the political horizon of Europe, is attested by the silence of history. The native nobility were supplanted by foreign intruders, who filled the offices and usurped the fiefs of the country. If the allodial peasantry in Norway never sunk to the same level of degradation with the Danish serfs, its agriculture was less encouraged, and its commerce entirely monopolized by the Hansatic merchants established at Bergen. These grievances the regency declared their readiness to redress, but their promises were not fully realized until the king himself, after attaining his majority, began to turn his active mind to the affairs of that country, which had been so long neglected by the princes of the house of Oldenburg. As soon as the term prescribed by law for the termination of his minority had expired, Christian was solemnly crowned, after having signed a capitulation with his nobles similar in its conditions to that subscribed by his father.

The early years of his reign were characterized by that incessant and energetic attention to public business which marked his whole life. He explored in person the interior of the kingdom, and examined with his own eyes the several details of the local administration; correcting, so far as circumstances would permit, such abuses as he discovered, and eagerly embracing every suitable occasion of contributing to the prosperity and improvement of his people, by lightening the burdens on their industry, and, more especially, by relieving their commerce from its dependence on foreign monopolists. His passion for geographical knowledge and maritime discovery early developed itself in an expedition equipped in 1599 to circumnavigate the coasts of Norway. The squadron, consisting of twelve ships of war, with the king himself on board, sailed round the North Cape, into the White Sea; and from this voyage, it is probable, he was led to attach an undue importance to the commerce and fisheries of those frozen regions so long tributary to the kings of Norway, and

so soon to form the principal object of renewed hostilities with Sweden.

The northern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, as already noticed, had been peopled from the remotest times by nomadic tribes, called Fins or Cwenas by the Norwegians ; and Lapps by the Swedes, from which their territory derived the name of Lapland. These aboriginal inhabitants retained their primitive manners, language, and religion, unaffected by the progress of Christianity in the North. No definite boundary separated the adjacent kingdoms of Sweden and Norway from the dreary wilderness occupied by their less civilized neighbours, who subsisted by hunting and fishing. The progress of conquest had gradually pressed them nearer to the borders of the arctic circle, but still even under the Union of Calmar their territorial limits remained undefined.

We learn from the account given by Olthere to King Alfred of his voyage to these seas, that the tribes scattered along the coasts beyond the North Cape paid tribute to Norway as early as the reign of Harald Haarfager. The Laplanders round the Gulf of Bothnia were subdued by associations of fur-traders, to whom the exclusive monopoly of their commerce and government was granted by Magnus Ladulæus ; and so far had these merchants abused their privileges, and thrown off their dependence on the Swedish crown, as to style themselves " Kings of the Lapps." Gustavus Wasa expelled these usurpers, and reduced the natives to the condition of tributaries. His son Charles IX. after his accession assumed the title of " King of the Lapps of Norrland," and founded the new city of Goteborg (Gottenborg), near the mouth of the Gota, to the inhabitants of which he granted the privilege of fishing on the northern coasts of Lapland.

These measures, added to the interruption of the Danish commerce with the ports in the Gulf of Riga, awakened the jealousy of Christian IV., who stationed a convoy in the Sound, to protect all vessels navigating

the Baltic, in which he claimed not merely freedom of mercantile intercourse, but a right of dominion, such as had been immemorially asserted by his royal predecessors. In vain did he remonstrate with the king and the senate against these encroachments upon the interests of his crown and the immunities of his people. Charles evaded all proposals for redress, and even charged the Danish monarch with endeavouring to detach his subjects from their allegiance, by corresponding with the Swedish Diet on the difference between the two nations ; forgetting that he had himself pursued a similar course with the senate of Denmark, who were well known not to participate in their young sovereign's ardent desire for war. At that period the limits of the constitutional prerogative were so rudely defined, and the influence of the senatorial aristocracy so great in both countries, that the king could hardly be considered the exclusive representative of the nation towards foreign states.

In these circumstances, aggravated by the intrigues and animosities of political faction, it was scarcely possible that an adjustment of disputed claims could be effected without an appeal to the sword ; and in 1611 commenced that sanguinary struggle between the two kingdoms, usually called the war of Calmar. Before taking the field, Christian despatched a herald-at-arms with a declaration of hostilities against Sweden, but Charles refused to admit him into his presence, and detained him as a prisoner ; whilst his own messenger reached the enemy's camp, where he presented a counter declaration, repeating the arguments advanced in the Danish manifesto, and endeavouring to throw the odium of the rupture upon his adversary. As a preparatory step, Christian had repaired all the strongholds on the frontier of the two kingdoms bordering on Sweden, and built a new fortress, called Christianopol, for the security of the provinces beyond the Sound.

The national land-forces at this epoch consisted in the feudal militia, composed of the nobility and their vassals, the tenant of every crown fief being compelled to serve

in person on horseback, and also to furnish a certain number of his serfs for the infantry, which was divided into regiments, or "banners," of 600 men each, commanded by a captain, and subdivided into twelve companies, headed by as many lieutenants. These levies furnished an army of 16,000 native troops, and they were increased by 4000 mercenaries, consisting of German cavalry, with English and Scottish infantry. The defence of Norway was confided to the national militia. The whole naval force was divided into two squadrons, one of which was sent to cruise in the Cattegat, and the other to blockade Calmar, the key of Sweden on the Baltic frontier.

Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Christian laboured under certain obvious disadvantages; the Danish nobility grudged the pecuniary supplies; the nation had not heard the sound of war since the treaty of Stettin in 1570; whilst the Swedes, on the other hand, had been constantly engaged in hostilities with Poland and Russia.

One division of the army, under Steen Schestedt, grand-marshal of the kingdom, penetrated through West Gothland to Jonkoping; and the other, commanded by his majesty in person, laid siege to Calmar, which was soon obliged to capitulate, the king himself mounting the breach at the head of his troops. The garrison retreated into the citadel, but the town was given up to be plundered by the soldiery. Charles, and his son Gustavus Adolphus, who had surprised the principal military depot of the enemy collected at Christianopol, advanced by rapid marches to the relief of the place, whilst Admiral Gyldenstiern arrived with a superior naval force, and threw a considerable supply of men and provisions into the besieged citadel. Schestedt was recalled from West Gothland, but the Swedes, determined to attack the Danish entrenchments before the arrival of this reinforcement, broke the enemy's lines, whilst the garrison made a sortie, set fire to the town, and penetrated to the royal camp.

On this occasion Christian signalized his personal courage, presence of mind, and other great military qualities, for which he was distinguished. After an obstinate combat, the assailants were driven back to their original position ; and Schestedt arriving in the midst of the battle, decided the fortune of the day. A short time afterwards the Swedes abandoned their camp in the night, and withdrew to Risby, in the expectation of receiving additional supplies. Their retreat compelled the surrender of the citadel, in which were found a vast store of bronze artillery, and other munitions of war.

Exasperated by these misfortunes, the Swedish monarch sent a cartel to Christian, accusing him in the most bitter and reproachful terms of having broken the peace of Stettin, taken the city of Calmar by treachery, and shed a profusion of innocent blood in an unjust cause. Every means of conciliation being exhausted, he offered to terminate the quarrel by single combat. "Come then," said he, after the old Gothic fashion, "into the open field with us, accompanied by two of your vassals, in full armour, and we will meet you sword in hand, without helm or harness, attended in the same manner. Herein if you fail we shall no longer consider you as an honourable king or a soldier." Christian answered this extraordinary letter in terms still more reproachful, declining to accept the challenge of "a paralytic dotard," whom he sarcastically counselled to remain by a warm fire with his nurse and physician, rather than expose himself to combat in the open field, with his younger and more robust competitor. This severe reply the king followed up by attacking the Swedes in their entrenchments at Risby ; but after three days' hard fighting, he was compelled to retreat, and set sail for Copenhagen, where he remained during the winter. Charles did not long survive these exertions, having died at Nykoping in 1612, 'worn out with fatigue of body and mind.

The war was vigorously prosecuted by his son, the

illustrious Gustavus Adolphus, who retaliated the devastations of the enemy in the Swedish territory, by committing similar ravages in the Danish provinces east of the Sound. He even penetrated into Scania, and invested Helsingborg, where he narrowly escaped being surprised in his quarters in the night by Gerhard Rantzau. His little army was cut to pieces; his court-marshal, Wrangel, was taken prisoner; he himself fled, with the remnant of his forces, across a frozen lake, where his horse became entangled in the ice, and he would infallibly have been killed or captured, had not one of his devoted followers dismounted, and saved his royal master at the sacrifice of his own life. Christian advanced to Skara, the ancient capital of West Gothland, which he laid in ashes; but he had great difficulty in effecting his retreat to the coast through the mountain-passes, which Gustavus had occupied with a view to intercept the march of the Danish army.

The following year both parties renewed the campaign. Reinforced with numerous bodies of foreign auxiliaries, Christian invested Elfsborg, the strong bulwark of West Gothland, which was taken after a short siege. The new city of Gottenborg also fell into his hands, after which he ventured, with a squadron of thirty-four vessels, and 8000 land-troops on board, to make an attack on Stockholm. The Swedish fleet sought protection in the narrow channel connecting the harbour of the capital with the sea; but the inhabitants were speedily relieved from their consternation by the approach of Gustavus from the southern frontier, and the arrival of a corps of Scottish veterans, who had landed at Trondheim, and forced their way into Sweden, across the great chain of the Norwegian Alps.*

* Among the Scottish auxiliaries on this occasion was a body of 900 troops, commanded by Colonel George Sinclair, who were attacked and totally destroyed by the peasantry of Guldbrandsdal, while marching through the narrow pass of Kringelen. Colonel Munckhoven, who had been sent by Gustavus, in 1612, to enlist men in Scotland and the Netherlands, succeeded in raising 2300 recruits; but on returning, he found Elfsborg, and the whole coast from Nyborg to Calmar, in possession of the Danes. He was, in

Both princes had now become weary of this destructive conflict, and lent a ready ear to the pacific overtures made by James I. of England. Christian was discouraged by the inadequate support he received from the Danish aristocracy ; and Gustavus was anxious to turn his whole attention to the war in which he was then engaged with the countries east of the Baltic. A treaty was accordingly signed in 1613, at Knacrod, wherein the latter monarch consented to ransom such of his provinces as the Danes had taken, by the payment of a million of rix-dollars, as also to abandon his claims to the island of Oesel, and the coasts of the Arctic Ocean as far as the Bay of Waranger.

The illustrious hero who now filled the Swedish throne, and whom history has rendered immortal under the name of Gustavus Adolphus, was a minor at the time of his father's death ; but he had given such proofs of precocious wisdom and valour, that the states did not hesitate to suspend, in favour of a youth of eighteen, the fundamental law of the realm, by which the expiration of the king's minority was fixed at twenty-four years of age. The state of perplexity and confusion in which the affairs of the nation were found at his accession, required all the talent and energy of which he was possessed. The campaign in Russia, under the conduct of De la Gardie, had been attended with brilliant success ; but although that general had made strong interest to have Charles Philip, second son of the late monarch, elected czar, in opposition to Vladislaus of Poland, the negociation for procuring him the imperial dignity had made little progress. The treaty concluded between the city of Revel and the Poles was not very scrupulously observed ; and whilst Sweden was menaced

consequence, obliged to land at Trondheim, whence he made his way over the mountains to Jamtland, and thence to Stockholm, which was invested by the Danish fleet. Sinclair and his party were less fortunate. They had not proceeded many miles through Romsdal, Lessoe, and the valley below Dovrefield, when they were surprised and cut to pieces by the boors concealed among the rocks. A monument, still proudly shown by the natives to all travellers, marks the grave of " Jorgen Zinclar" and his companions, " who were dashed to pieces like earthen pots."—Von Buch, Travels, p. 88-90.

with formidable enemies on every side, her only support at home consisted of weak friends, ill-paid armies, and empty treasuries, exhausted by a series of wars and revolutions. In this feeble condition, it was of the utmost importance to secure internal tranquillity; and, accordingly, the diet prevailed with Duke John to confirm his renunciation of all claim to the throne, and allow the young prince to take upon himself the sole administration of the government.

The first acts of Gustavus' reign impressed his subjects with a favourable opinion of that singular penetration and capacity for business, which marked the whole of his extraordinary career. The celebrated Oxenstiern was made chancellor, and every post, civil and military, was filled with equal discrimination. To carry on the foreign wars in which he was engaged, he resumed all the crown-grants, and ordered an account of the produce of tithes and feudal lands to be delivered annually into the royal exchequer. The peace concluded with Denmark allowed him to devote his attention for a short interval to the study of civil affairs. He concluded a treaty of commerce with the Dutch, and established a society of trade at Stockholm, every subscriber to which advanced certain sums to the crown, on being released for the space of three years from all taxes, duties, and imposts. To encourage agricultural industry, he absolved peasants and farmers from the obligation of supplying the government with horses and carriages. An edict was published to abridge the tediousness and expense of litigation, especially in affairs of regal judicature; and no measures were omitted that could improve the national institutions, or meliorate the condition of the people.

Within three years after his accession, Gustavus assembled the states at Helsingborg, to deliberate on the proceedings necessary to be adopted for the speedy adjustment of the dispute with Russia. The whole northern quarter of that great empire had expressed a desire to have a Swedish prince, in the hope of extending their commercial relations with the Baltic; but Charles Philip had no ambition to become the ruler of

a nation of barbarians ; and the scheme, which for some years had been a favourite object at the court of Stockholm, was now finally and suddenly defeated by the election of Michael Feodorovitz to the dignity of czar (1613), a native prince of the Romanof family, remotely connected with that of the Ruriks, and founder of a new dynasty, which has continued ever since to sway the sceptre of that immense empire. Determined to revenge this affront, Gustavus obtained the concurrence of the states in a resolution to compel the Muscovites to refund the debt they had contracted under the late reign. Their haughty refusal led to immediate hostilities : the indignant monarch entered Ingria at the head of an army, took Kexholm by storm, and was laying siege to Plescow, when James I. of England offered his mediation, and succeeded in restoring peace (1617), on condition of Russia making payment of the loan, and ceding the contested provinces of Ingria and Carclia to Sweden. Brief as was the duration of this war, it is memorable as the school where Gustavus learned the rudiments of that art which afterwards made him the admiration of Europe.

The truce with Poland having expired, and its renewal being frustrated by the treacherous design of Sigismund, who not only declined all overtures of pacification, but treated his Swedish majesty as a usurper, and even formed a scheme to seize his person, the latter had no alternative than that of having recourse to warlike preparations. With a powerful armament of 20,000 troops, and a number of eminent officers, he set sail for Riga, and laid siege to the town, whilst the Poles were occupied in repelling the Turks from Wallachia. The reduction of this place was followed by a suspension of hostilities, with a view to a general pacification ; but as Sigismund still refused his assent, in the hope of gaining some favourable opportunity to attack his rival, his Swedish majesty again put himself at the head of his army, and entered Livonia, the whole of which, except Daneburg, was subdued. Pillau, Elbing, Marienburg, and most of the principal towns in Prussia, were taken by the invaders in a single campaign ; and next year

(1627) the conqueror invested Dantzic, which he would probably have carried, had he not been wounded by a cannon-shot at the commencement of the siege.

Meantime the Swedish fleet encountered the Polish and Dantzic squadron while endeavouring to throw succours into the garrison; an obstinate engagement ensued, which terminated in the defeat of the latter, and the destruction of their admiral's ship.

This victory Gustavus immediately followed up by blockading the harbour, and pushing his approaches with vigour on the land-side. By this unexpected movement, the magistrates, already apprehensive of insurrection from the scarcity of provisions, were thrown into the greatest confusion; and they had actually resolved to surrender, when a sudden flood of rain swelled the Vistula, until it carried off the temporary pontoons, ruined the Swedish works, and obliged the king to break up his camp. As a compensation for this disappointment, he took several towns in his retreat, and put their garrisons to the sword. General Wrangel also defeated a body of Poles at Brodnitz, and would have reduced Thorn, had it not been suddenly reinforced by a strong detachment of troops. Another and a more decisive battle was fought and won by Gustavus in person, at Stum, where the enemy, with a body of 7000 German auxiliaries under Arnheim, were routed with immense slaughter.

Peace was the happy consequence of the successes which in every quarter had crowned the military operations of the Swedish monarch. Sigismund, finding his ranks thinned by famine, no less than by the sword of the enemy, consented to a truce of six years (1629), by which a glorious termination was put to the war with Muscovy and Poland. In negotiating this pacification, England, France, and Holland lent their willing aid, in order that Gustavus might be at liberty to turn his arms against the Emperor Ferdinand II., in support of the Protestant interests in Germany, where the Reformed faith was put in jeopardy by the grasping ambition of the house of Austria.

CHAPTER II.

From the Thirty Years' War to the Danish Revolution of 1660.

The Thirty Years' War—Its Causes and Progress—Christian IV. chosen Captain-general of the Protestant Army—Victories of Wallenstein and Tilly—Invasion of Denmark by the Catholic Troops—Ambitious Views of Ferdinand II. and Wallenstein—Peace between Austria and Denmark—Gustavus Adolphus elected Commander of the combined Protestant Forces—His Departure for Germany—Successful Opening of the Campaign—Defeat of Tilly at Leipsig—Victories of the Swedes on the Rhine—Passage of the Lech and Death of Tilly—Restoration of Wallenstein—Siege of Nuremberg—Battle of Lutzen and Death of Gustavus—Prosecution of the War—Peace of Westphalia—War between Sweden and Denmark—Naval Engagements—Peace of Bromsbro—Death and Character of Christian IV.—His Efforts to promote Trade and Navigation—State of Affairs at the Accession of Frederick III.—Abdication of Christina of Sweden—Her Pretensions to Literature—Charles X. invades Poland—Denmark embarks in the War—Peace of Roskilde—Final Cession of the Danish Provinces beyond the Sound—Death of Charles X. and Peace of Oliva—Treaty of Copenhagen—Revolution of 1660.

It belongs not to the historian of the Northern Kingdoms to enter upon a detail of those religious and political disputes in which the continent of Europe had been involved for nearly a century, and which, at this period, broke out into the celebrated War of Thirty Years, whose destructive ravages spread from the interior of Bohemia to the banks of the Po on the one hand, and the shores of the Baltic on the other. A brief recapitu-

lation of its causes, and of the events which connected it with the states of the North, is all that is essential for the purposes of Scandinavian history. The whole transactions of this memorable era are intimately associated with the Reformation, which, although firmly established in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, still struggled in Germany with the ancient hierarchy for a doubtful and precarious existence.

The religious peace of the empire had been apparently secured by the treaty of Passau in 1552, confirmed by the recess of the diet of Augsburg in 1555. That compact guaranteed the mutual toleration of the Catholic and Protestant doctrines in the different states, constituting the supreme civil power in each the sole competent judge to decide which form of worship should be the established faith ; but securing to those who might refuse to conform, liberty to remove with their effects into the territory where their own creed was publicly professed. The alienation of all ecclesiastical property, secularized prior to the treaty, was confirmed ; with this stipulation, that if any of the clergy should thereafter abandon the Romish Church, his benefice should immediately be filled up with a Catholic successor, as if vacant by death or the translation of the incumbent. This provision, called the *Ecclesiasticum Reservatum*, by which the future progress of the Reformation was arrested in Germany, and the omission to protect those Protestant dissentients who had separated from the Confession of Augsburg, under Zuinglius and Calvin, became the fruitful sources of new contentions, whereby the ancient constitution of the empire was shaken to its foundation. The flames of war burst out in Bohemia, where the edict of toleration granted to the Lutherans by Rodolph II. was revoked. The Protestants were defeated at the White Mountain, near Prague (November 8, 1620) ; their leaders expiated on the scaffold the crime of defending their chartered liberties ; and as the Emperor Ferdinand had declared he would have no subjects but Catholics, 200,000 of the inhabitants, who

refused to conform, were obliged to sell their property, and abandon their native land. The league was dissolved ; and although Count Mansfeldt and Duke Christian of Bavaria defended the Reformed faith for a while with heroic valour, they were unable to resist the Imperialists, under the Bavarian general Tilly, who inundated Lower Saxony, ravaging the country, and sequestering the possessions of the Church.

In this desperate emergency, the assembled states of that circle turned their eyes for succour to the kingdoms of the North. According to the account of this affair given by Schiller, Christian IV. and Gustavus Adolphus both coveted the glory of saving the Protestant cause at this perilous juncture. The fame which the Swedish monarch had acquired by his exploits in Poland and Muscovy, had excited the envy of Christian, who burned with impatience to emulate the brilliant deeds of his rival. His peculiar position as a sovereign member of the Lower Saxon circle, with the contiguity of Jutland and the Danish isles, which secured him a retreat in case of disaster, gave him evident advantages in this competition, and induced the Protestant powers to urge his acceptance of the supreme command of the combined force about to be raised for protecting the liberties of Germany. It is, however, worthy of remark, that no allusion to this rivalry is to be found in the contemporary annalists, nor in the correspondence of the negotiators concerned in these transactions. If their testimony is to be credited, the defence of Protestantism was urged on Gustavus by his brother monarch ; but the state of affairs in Poland rendering it impossible for him to comply, the latter was himself reluctantly persuaded to undertake the task, on the assurance of receiving support from every quarter of Christendom.*

Trusting to these promised supplies, the king attended

* Schiller, *History of the Thirty Years' War* (Moir's Translation), b. ii. p. 156. Heeren, *Political System of Europe*, vol. i. p. 142-146. Loccen, lib. viii. Puffend. tom. vi, lib. vi.

a convocation of the Saxon states at Lauenburg (March 1625), where he entered into a league with the free cities of the circle, and was chosen captain-general of the confederated army. With a body of 25,000 men, collected in Holstein, consisting of Danes, Germans, Scots, and English, he crossed the Elbe to Stade, and on reaching the Weser, was joined by 7000 Saxons. Tilly, with the forces of the Catholic union, was on the opposite bank of the river, and carried on his operations with success; but the campaign was marked by no decisive action. As Christian was not vigorously supported by his allies, hostilities continued to languish until the appearance of the celebrated Wallenstein on the scene, whose imperishable fame still lives in history and poetry, in the eloquent pages of Schiller. He had already served the House of Austria with distinction against the Turks, Venetians, and Hungarians, and received the title of Prince of Friedland in reward for his gallant achievements. His first exploit was the defeat of Count Mansfeldt at Dessau, where a corps of 10,000 Protestants was almost totally destroyed. The loss of this brave officer, who died of sickness and fatigue, was soon followed by the death of Duke Christian, and then the Danish monarch was left to contend alone with two of the ablest generals in the Imperial dominions. One town after another fell into their hands; and in a decisive battle, fought near the castle of Lutter, on the road from Gottingen to Brunswick (August 27, 1626), victory declared in favour of Tilly, after a sanguinary action which cost the Protestants 4000 men, besides a vast number of prisoners.

This severe blow compelled the Danes to retreat to Stade, where Christian endeavoured to obtain from the states of Holstein a vote of fresh supplies. While his fortunes were thus under a cloud, the allied princes and free cities of Saxony gradually abandoned him, and submitted to the terms of peace dictated by the victorious foe. Still the gallant monarch kept the field, having augmented his army to 30,000 men, including 6000

English and Scottish troops under General Morgan, and a small body of French commanded by Count Montgomery. The advance of Wallenstein from Silesia at length put an end to all hope of successful resistance, and threatened Christian with the invasion of his own territories. His newly raised forces were scattered before the storm, pursued by the veteran bands of Tilly, who overran the duchies of Sleswig and Holstein; their natural ferocity being exasperated by religious fanaticism to inflict wanton cruelties upon a race of heretics. The king retreated to Kolding, whence he fled across the Little Belt into Fionia with the wreck of his army; whilst another remnant escaped to the northern promontory of Jutland, passed the Liim Fiord into the peninsula of Vendsyssel, where they were forced to lay down their arms; and thus the entire Cimbric Chersonese, from the Elbe to the Skager Rack, so long unvisited by the ravages of war, yielded to the detested yoke of a foreign conqueror. The strong fortress of Gluckstadt alone held out for Christian.

The ambitious views of Ferdinand and his aspiring lieutenant were now directed to more magnificent conquests; aiming at nothing less than the destruction of the political independence of Germany, the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy throughout the empire, and the subjugation of the Scandinavian peninsula, by cutting it off from all commercial intercourse with its Protestant allies on the continent. As a preliminary step towards the accomplishment of this gigantic undertaking, Wallenstein was vested with a commission, as "General of the Baltic and Oceanic seas," to equip a fleet in the Hanseatic ports, in order to assert the dominion of those waters against the maritime power of Denmark, Sweden, and Holland. Ferdinand, at the same time, deprived the Dukes of Mecklenburg of their hereditary territories, as allies of Christian, and transferred the allegiance of their subjects to the Prince of Friedland, in violation of all the laws and usages of the Germanic Confederation. The newly created sea-king, with a small fleet from Spain

and Austria, took possession of Wismar and Rostock, established the seat of his administration at the former port, and commenced the building of additional ships for executing his visionary plans of universal sovereignty. Lubeck, though its former power had declined, still retained strength and courage enough to preserve its neutrality in the impending contest. Stralsund had taken no part in the Danish war, but as its possession was of great importance to the Oceanic general, it was exposed to a rigorous siege. The two northern kings, forgetting their private jealousies, united their efforts for its relief. Christian set sail with a combined squadron; and while he protected the town from being assailed by the enemy's fleet, the garrison was reinforced by 5000 Swedish and Scottish troops, under the gallant officer Sir Alexander Leslie. The burghers, animated by the presence of this veteran and the bravery of his countrymen, defended themselves with spirit, until Wallenstein, notwithstanding his confident boast of making himself master of the place "even though it were slung with chains between earth and heaven," was compelled to set fire to his camp and retire, with his laurels withered, and the loss of 12,000 of his best soldiers.

This signal discomfiture, the first which the Imperial general had experienced, induced the emperor to consent to treat for peace with Denmark, on terms more moderate than he had before demanded. At an earlier period of the campaign he had offered to bestow the Danish crown on the Prince of Friedland; the senate of Copenhagen having not only written to the court of Vienna, disavowing all participation in the war which the king, as a German power, had undertaken against their wishes, but likewise engaged in some dark intrigues with that ambitious general (if we may trust his correspondence), to dethrone Christian and elect the emperor in his place. These projects of ideal conquests were now dissipated. The impenetrable Baltic put a limit to the march of the victors; whilst the want of

shipping not only arrested their further progress, but endangered the territories they had already acquired.

These considerations, with others equally urgent, conspired to produce more pacific dispositions on the part of Austria. As the friendship of Denmark was most important for the success of the views which the daring ambition of Wallenstein still entertained, he resolved, even at the expense of his master's interests, to secure its alliance. A congress was accordingly opened at Lubeck, from which he excluded, with studied contempt, the Swedish ambassadors Oxenstiern and Spor, who came to intercede for the restoration of the Dukes of Mecklenburg. A treaty of peace was there concluded and signed (May 22, 1629), by the Imperial and Danish commissioners, in which the king ransomed such parts of his dominions as were conquered by the Catholic generals, by abandoning his German allies who had first deserted him. He renounced, at the same time, all pretensions of right to interfere in the affairs of the empire, except in his character of Duke of Holstein. Christian was thus compelled, by a concurrence of unfortunate events, not only to violate the spirit of his engagements with Gustavus Adolphus, but to retire without honour or advantage from the war, and concede to that illustrious hero the renown of successfully vindicating the liberties of Protestant Europe.

Had not the heart of Ferdinand II. been hardened by bigotry against the cries of humanity, the treaty of Lubeck might have been the forerunner of a general pacification; his subjects, his allies, and his enemies, united in imploring peace at his hands, and putting an end to a civil war which had been waged with a ferocity hitherto unknown since the ages of Gothic barbarism. But the hostility of the Jesuits was insatiable; fresh attempts were made to suppress the Reformed faith; the disastrous Edict of Restitution was passed (1629), restoring to the original Catholic owners those church-lands and possessions which had been secularized by the treaty of Passau. A great number of episcopal

sees, abbacies, and other ecclesiastical property changed owners, whilst several places of worship were shut up or re-annexed to the Romish communion. These flagrant aggressions extinguished the last beam of hope in the breasts of the persecuted Protestants. One event alone gave an unexpected advantage to their cause,—the dismissal of Wallenstein from the command of the army, in consequence of the loud complaints against his cruelties and exactions. The greater part of the officers and soldiers who had been enlisted under his auspices, followed their leader, and quitted the Austrian service. The emperor was thus stripped of more than one-half of his military strength, at the moment when he was believed to hold in his power the destinies of all Germany. The residue of his forces he incorporated with those of the Catholic League, and conferred upon Tilly the joint command of the whole army.

Cardinal Richelieu having effectually crushed the Protestant party in France, and succeeded in depriving Ferdinand of his ablest general, now directed his undivided attention to his favourite scheme of placing the Swedish monarch at the head of the Reformed interests on the continent, as an instrument to check the overgrown influence of Austria; and it was with the view of leaving him at liberty to turn his arms against his Imperial rival, that he offered his mediation in negotiating the six years' armistice, already noticed, between Gustavus and Sigismund of Poland. After the unsuccessful attempt of Christian IV., the hero of Sweden was the only prince in Europe to whom oppressed liberty could look for protection. No other was so well fitted by his personal qualities to conduct such an enterprise, or could plead more important motives at once to incite and justify him in the undertaking. He had suffered from the insolence and the depredations of Wallenstein, who had insulted his ambassadors, and led a body of Imperial troops to assist the Poles, and even to dispute his right to the title of king.

So many private inducements, supported by consi-

derations both political and religious, and seconded by the most pressing invitations from Germany, could not fail to make a strong impression on a mind like that of Gustavus Adolphus. Though the contest might appear perilous and unequal, it presented no alarms to a soldier of such invincible courage and consummate prudence. "He foresaw (says Schiller) the obstacles and dangers which opposed him, but he saw also the means by which he hoped to conquer them. His army, though not numerous, was well disciplined, inured to hardship by a severe climate and continual campaigns, and accustomed to victory in the Polish wars. Sweden, though poor in men and money, and taxed beyond its means by the pressure of an eight years' war, was devoted to its monarch with an enthusiasm which assured him of the effectual support of his subjects. In Germany the name of the emperor was at least as much hated as feared. The Protestant princes appeared only to await the arrival of a deliverer, to throw off his insupportable tyranny, and fairly to declare for the Swedes. Even to the Catholic states, the appearance of a rival whose opposition might control the overwhelming influence of Ferdinand, could hardly be unwelcome."

Notwithstanding these advantageous circumstances, Gustavus found in himself the strongest and securest pledge for the success of his enterprise. He was not merely the greatest captain of the age, but the bravest soldier in his own army. The hardships of the campaign he bore like the meanest of his followers, and animated by his example the courage which he had himself created.

No sooner was the resolution of opposing the emperor formed, than Gustavus assembled the Swedish diet to deliberate on the manner in which the war should be conducted. Warm debates and conflicting opinions arose, but all scruples and apprehensions were overruled by the more comprehensive penetration and urgent arguments of the king, who pointed out the danger of awaiting the enemy in their own country. "Let us hear no more

(said he at the conclusion of an eloquent oration) of a defensive war, by which we sacrifice our greatest advantages ; Sweden shall not be doomed to behold a hostile banner : if we are vanquished in Germany, it will be time enough to follow your plan." This resolution, as prudent as it was magnanimous and patriotic, was followed up with the necessary preparations for opening the campaign. Precautions were taken for securing the kingdom against the attempts of its neighbours in his absence. A considerable body of militia, and some regular troops, were left for its protection ; whilst Oxenstiern was placed with 10,000 men in Prussia, to guard that territory against Poland, and secure a free retreat from Germany. On the side of Muscovy the frontier was covered ; and the friendship of Denmark had been pledged at a private interview between Gustavus and Christian at Markaroed.

In addition to these defensive measures, regulations were adopted for the internal administration of affairs. The government was intrusted to the Council of State, and the finances to the king's brother-in-law, the Palatine, John Casimir ; the queen from her limited talents being excluded from all share in the regency. The arrangements for his departure having been completed, levies raised, and transports ready to convey them across the Baltic, the heroic monarch set his house in order like a dying man, and appeared in the diet at Stockholm (20th May 1630) to bid the states a solemn farewell. Taking his infant daughter Christina in his arms, who had been acknowledged in her cradle as his successor, he presented her to the assembly as their future sovereign, and explained the regulations to be observed in the kingdom during her minority, in case he should never more return. At this affecting scene every eye was moistened with tears, and it was some time before Gustavus himself could recover sufficient composure to deliver his parting address.

A vast concourse of spectators flocked to Elfsknaben, where the fleet lay at anchor, to witness the embarkation of the troops. The army amounted only to 15,000,

as the king wished to lead no greater force into Germany than his resources could maintain ; but the soldiers were trained to hardship and fatigue, and surpassed by none in temperance, patience, discipline, and perseverance. They consisted of veterans from the ranks of Mansfeldt and the battalions of Poland and Denmark, including 10,000 Scotch and English auxiliaries. The command was intrusted to generals of experience, distinguished for talents and valour ; amongst whom was a large proportion of British officers.*

The squadron had been detained by contrary winds, but on the 24th of June it arrived at Rugen, already subdued by Leslie ; the troops were landed on the islands of Wollin and Usedom, the Imperial garrisons having abandoned the fortresses and taken to flight on their approach. The king himself was the first that set foot on shore, where he knelt down in presence of his suite, to thank Heaven for the safety of the expedition. Passing the strait he reduced Wolgast, and distributed the plunder among his troops. His next enterprise was against Stettin, which he was anxious to secure before the Imperialists made their appearance. The possession of this important city was of the utmost consequence to Gustavus, by procuring him a firm footing in the duchy, the command of the Oder, and a powerful friend in his new ally Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania, who covered his rear, and maintained his communications with Sweden. By this bold and fortunate commencement, he not only anticipated the Imperialists, then advancing by rapid marches, but attracted to his standard crowds of veterans, both officers and soldiers.

The sudden and formidable progress of the invading army excited for a time little apprehension at the Imperial court. The pride of Austria looked with con-

* In his second German campaign, the Swedish army was almost entirely commanded by British officers. There were not fewer than six generals, thirty colonels, and fifty-one inferior field-officers. —Modern Hist. vol. vii. (fol. ed.) p. 324. Burnet's Mem. of the House of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 104.—Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus, vol. i.

tempt on the efforts of an adventurous enthusiast, who had emerged with a handful of men from the sequestered regions of the North. Ferdinand had been taught to regard the Swedish power as a mere phantom, which could be scared out of Germany without striking a blow; nor was this delusion entirely dissipated by the triumphs which had already signalized the career of Gustavus. At Vienna, he was called in derision the "Snow King," who was kept together by the cold, but would melt and disappear as he approached a warmer soil. While he was thus ridiculed by his enemies in the capital, and even refused the title of royalty by the Electors assembled at Ratisbon, his brave troops were reducing one strong town after another, and preparing to extend their conquests to the Austrian frontier.

Whilst famine, desertion, and the fatal effects of a northern climate, were daily thinning the ranks of the enemy, the Scandinavians, in this latter respect, had a decided advantage. To them, a German winter had no rigours to interrupt their operations, and they were provided with dresses of sheep-skins so as to be able to keep the field in the most inclement season. Master of all Pomerania, Gustavus entered Mecklenburg, and soon succeeded in restoring the exiled dukes, who had been supplanted in their hereditary dominions by Wallenstein. In Brandenburg the Swedes took Frankfort, in the presence of Tilly at the head of 20,000 men. The Imperialists, however, got possession of Magdeburg, which was plundered and burnt (10th May 1631), amidst scenes of the most revolting atrocity. Although the Swedish hero was moving with a strong force in the immediate neighbourhood, he could afford the town no relief, and was compelled, in consequence of the loud complaints of the Protestants, to vindicate his conduct by a written explanation, in which he showed that all his endeavours to save the place had been frustrated by the timid policy of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, who refused to grant his army a free passage through their territories.

This misfortune was speedily counterbalanced by subsequent advantages. Gustavus had gained a formidable accession of strength by the alliance which he concluded (Jan. 1631) with France; whilst Ferdinand, by his exorbitant subsidies, had excited a general discontent among the German princes, who held a convention at Leipsig for adopting measures of self-defence. Several of them even joined the Swedish standard; the most powerful of whom were the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and the Duke of Mecklenburg. The Czar of Muscovy had shortly before sent ambassadors to renew his friendship, and to offer assistance. In terms of the treaty concluded with Charles I. of England, the Marquis of Hamilton arrived at Usedom with 6000 auxiliaries; so that with the levies from France, and those supplied by his queen, the king's army amounted to nearly 20,000 troops, exclusive of those with his generals in different parts of Germany.

On being joined by the Saxons, Gustavus crossed the Elbe near Torgau, and gave battle to Tilly (Sept. 7), who had made himself master of Leipsig. The victory was complete; neither the courage nor the discipline of the Imperialists could withstand the terrible onset of the Swedes, and the unerring musketry of the Scottish auxiliaries. The king, distinguished by a green feather in his hat, displayed throughout the whole combat the most consummate skill and bravery; being ably aided by Count Horn and the Elector of Saxony. Tilly effected his retreat, and narrowly escaped having the disgrace of imprisonment added to his other misfortunes. But the most grievous disaster of all was the pain of surviving his reputation, and of losing in a single day the fruits of his whole preceding campaigns. The slaughter was very great: of the enemy 7000 were killed, and above 5000 wounded or made prisoners, besides the entire loss of their camp and artillery. Of the Saxons, about 2000 fell, and scarcely 700 of the Swedes.

The conqueror was now at liberty to direct his march against any part of the Austrian dominions. Puffendorff

and other historians have censured him for committing the error of Hannibal at Cannæ, by not following up his recent success, and advancing directly to Vienna ; but the sagacious hero deemed it unsafe to carry the war into the central provinces of the empire, while the Catholic armies might harass his rear, or perhaps recover the territories he had already subdued. Accordingly, leaving the conquest of Bohemia to the Elector of Saxony, Gustavus pressed onward into Franconia, pursuing his victorious career to the borders of Switzerland. The rapidity with which he traversed Germany from the Elbe to the Rhine, resembled the speed of a journey rather than the laborious progress of a campaign. Towns and fortresses surrendered at his approach ; and the inhabitants, vanquished by the terror of his name, fled without daring to oppose his invincible legions. The bishopric of Wurtzburg was cleared of the Imperial garrisons, and submitted to his arms. In Marienburg, the capital, which was carried by storm, the king found a valuable library, which he caused to be transported to Upsala. Frankfort opened its gates without resistance to the Protestants, who soon made themselves masters of the whole course of the Maine, and crossing the Rhine at Stockstadt, they dispersed the Spaniards who attempted to dispute their passage. Oppenheim and Mentz were reduced after a desperate resistance. Mannheim was gained through the prudent measures of Duke Bernard of Weimar. Spire offered to raise troops for the liberating army ; and with the exception of Frankenthal, Swedish colours were seen flying on the ramparts over the whole palatinate.

Gustavus next directed his course towards the Moselle, and even threatened to overrun Alsace and Lorraine. The vicinity of the Scandinavian hero to the Papal States furnished his enemies with a plausible argument for attempting to withdraw from him the support of his ally Louis XIII. by circulating insidious reports, that it was his object after vanquishing Germany to join the Huguenots in France, subdue that kingdom, and per-

haps extirpate the Catholic religion in Europe by crossing the Alps, and seizing the Keys of St Peter.

While the king with the main army were thus multiplying their triumphs on the Rhine, his generals and allies in the northern circles were equally successful. Duke Albert of Mecklenburg and the gallant Tott recovered from the Imperialists all the towns and strongholds in that duchy. Magdeburg, after being closely blockaded by Banner, was captured by the Swedes. In Lower Saxony, the states levied troops for the Protestant service, while the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel reduced the bishoprics of Fulda, Paderborn, and some of the adjacent territories. In Bohemia, the Elector of Saxony was no less fortunate. Prague was attacked, and obliged to capitulate. The surrender of most of the other towns followed that of the capital; and these conquests introduced a change highly favourable to the distressed Protestants, many of whom, hitherto wandering in poverty and exile, again took possession of their properties, and resumed the celebration of their proscribed worship.

The king with the main army on the Rhine, having left Oxenstiern to guard his conquests in that quarter, advanced against Tilly, who, after repulsing General Horn, and retaking Bamberg in Franconia, had retired towards the frontier of Bavaria. The capture of Donauwerth opened to the Swedes a passage across the Danube, leaving only the small river Lech between them and the dominions of the Elector Maximilian, the head of the Catholic League. It was on the banks of this petty stream, near the town of Rain, that the fatal action took place, in endeavouring to storm the Imperial camp, which deprived Tilly of his life. A cannon-ball shattered his leg, and brought his long career to a close, only a few days before he must have sustained the disgrace of resigning the command to Wallenstein. Bavaria now lay at the mercy of the conqueror; the whole country as far as Munich was speedily reduced, and Ratisbon was only saved by the opportune succour of a numerous reinforcement.

The restoration of the Duke of Friedland, whose temporary dismissal seemed to the Catholics to be the cause of all their disasters, gave a new direction to the war. At the head of 40,000 men he suddenly appeared before Prague, the gates of which were opened by treachery ere the Saxons could advance to its relief. The surrender of the capital hastened the fate of the whole kingdom, which was restored to its former sovereign in less time than it had been conquered. The new generalissimo next bent his march into Bavaria, to check the rapid success of the enemy, and avert the danger that threatened Austria. His junction with the army of Maximilian obliged Gustavus to retire within the walls of Nuremberg, until he could collect his troops which were scattered over Germany. Wallenstein invested the place, but after a tedious blockade, and a vain attempt of the Swedes to storm his camp, both parties separated; having lost nearly 30,000 soldiers by famine and the sword in the brief space of three months, without producing any decisive result. The brooding storm only spared that city to burst with more destructive effect on the plains of Saxony. By a sudden movement, the Imperial army appeared in the circle of Leipsig, and compelled the town to surrender. The design of their crafty commander was to press on to Dresden, after having overpowered the Saxons; but the advance of Gustavus thwarted his plans, and hastened that fatal action in which the Hero of the North was destined to find a premature grave.

The resolution of the Swede to march northward instead of prosecuting the war in Bavaria, was dictated by his anxiety to retain the wavering Elector of Saxony in his alliance, and prevent him from being won over to the enemy by the seductive proposals of the emperor. Yielding to these considerations, he was induced to forego his brilliant prospects of victory in another quarter, for the sake of a selfish and inconstant prince, who neither by his services nor his attachment was worthy of the sacrifice. Having rapidly collected his

troops, Gustavus reached Naumberg on the 1st of November 1632, in time to save it from the hands of the Imperialists. At Armstadt he was joined by Duke Bernard of Weimar, who had been sent against Pappenheim in Lower Saxony. As he passed the towns and villages, he was received with every token of gratitude and admiration ; the inhabitants flocking in crowds to gaze upon their protector, kneeling before him, and struggling for the honour of touching the sheath of his sword, or the hem of his garment. At Weissenfels, where he had resolved to dislodge the enemy, he parted with his queen, who never again beheld him till he was laid in his coffin.

Wallenstein, afraid to hazard an engagement in the absence of Count Pappenheim, who had been despatched to the assistance of Cologne, then threatened by the Dutch, avoided the attack, and moved forward into the plain of Lutzen, where he awaited the king in full order of battle. The Protestants instantly advanced, and took up their position on the evening of the same day. The infantry were placed in the centre, commanded by Count Brahe. Duke Bernard of Weimar was posted with the German cavalry on the left wing, and on the right the Swedes were led on by the king in person, in order to excite the courage of the two nations by mutual rivalry. By the dawn of morning all was in readiness, but a thick fog which covered the plain retarded the attack till noon. The pious monarch, kneeling in front of the lines, offered up his devotions to Heaven ; the whole army, also on their knees, joining in a fervent hymn, accompanied with martial music. To animate the soldiers and inspire them with confidence in the success of their cause, he rode along the ranks, clad only in a leathern doublet and surcoat, his wounds not permitting him to wear armour.

On the first charge, they were received with a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery from the trenches ; but they pressed forward with resistless intrepidity, passed the high road, carried the batteries, and dispersed the

enemy with their own cannon. The Imperial brigades, thrown into confusion, were already giving way, when their ignominious flight was checked by the presence of their stern commander. Reinforced with fresh troops they renewed the attack with increased fury, and after a murderous conflict, the wearied Swedes, overwhelmed with numbers, were driven back with the loss of the battery they had captured, and leaving the trenches strewn with their mangled bodies. On the right wing, the first impetuous shock of the Finlanders scattered the lightly-mounted Poles and Croats ; and their disorderly flight was beginning to affect the rest of the cavalry, when Gustavus received intelligence that his infantry were retiring across the trenches, and that the left wing was severely annoyed by the heavy fire of the Austrian artillery. Placing himself at the head of a regiment, he flew with the rapidity of lightning to the spot ; but from the speed at which he rode, only a few horsemen could keep pace with him, amongst whom was Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg.

In his eagerness to rally the wavering troops, and discover a favourable point of attack, he spurred forward close to the enemy's lines, his shortness of sight unfortunately preventing him from being aware of the danger. The plainness of his dress might have afforded him some security, had not a soldier remarked that every one respectfully made way for him. Judging from that circumstance that he was a person of distinction, he levelled his musket and fired at the very moment when the remainder of the squadron was hurrying up to his assistance. " The king bleeds ! the king is shot !" immediately resounded through the Swedish ranks, spreading terror and consternation among the troops. " It is nothing, follow me," exclaimed the intrepid hero, collecting his whole strength, and endeavouring to conceal his shattered arm, lest they should be discouraged by the sight of his bleeding wound. Overcome with pain and nearly fainting, he requested the Duke of Lauenburg to lead him secretly out of the tumult ; but while moving off,

he received a second shot through the back, and sinking from his horse, he whispered with a dying voice to his guide, "Brother, I am gone, look to your own life." A shower of balls, several of which pierced him as he fell, dispersed his attendants, and the expiring monarch was left to breathe his last in the hands of the Croatian plunderers. His steed covered with blood, and fleeing without its rider, announced the dismal tidings of his loss to the army. A deadly struggle took place with the enemy for the possession of his remains, and continued until the lifeless corpse was buried under a heap of promiscuous slaughter.

The fate of their beloved king, instead of dispiriting the soldiers, inspired them with redoubled energy. Their courage was excited to a pitch of phrensy and madness, in which the terrors of danger and death were alike disregarded. The left wing of the Imperialists was entirely beaten out of the field by the Northern battalions under General Horn, who rushed upon them a second time with the fury of lions. The centre of the Swedish infantry, commanded by Knipphausen and Duke Bernard of Weimar, in whom the noble enthusiasm of the departed monarch seemed to revive, advanced again to the trenches, which they passed, and once more took possession of the battery. A panic seized the foe, they retired in confusion, and the battle appeared all but won, when the unexpected arrival of Pappenheim, with his cuirassiers and dragoons from Halle, deprived the Protestants of every advantage they had gained. His presence rallied the fugitives; the combat was renewed with more destructive fury, and the exhausted Swedes, overpowered with fresh numbers, were driven beyond the trenches, leaving several regiments dead upon the spot. Wallenstein himself was seen riding with cool intrepidity amidst the hottest of the fray, assisting the distressed, and animating the brave by his example. His mantle was pierced with several balls, but the valiant Pappenheim was less fortunate, having been shot through the heart while daringly pushing his way into the enemy's

ranks, in the eager hope of encountering his royal antagonist, the Hero of the North, whose fate he learned with a smile of joy only a moment before death had closed his own eyes for ever.

The conflict seemed to grow more bloody as it drew towards a close ; both sides exerted their power and skill to the utmost ; without strength to conquer, neither would submit to yield, and they separated at last, only when darkness intervened, each man sheathing his weapon, because he could not find his adversary. The scales of victory were equally poised, and the balance might have been turned in favour of that party who should take possession of the artillery, the whole of which remained all night on the field. But Wallenstein made a hasty retreat to Leipsig, and was followed next day by the scattered remnant of his troops, without their colours, and nearly destitute of arms and accoutrements. The Duke of Weimar allowed his wearied brigades a short repose between Lutzen and Weissenfels, but near enough the scene of action to prevent the foe from taking advantage of his retirement. The whole plain was strewn with the dead and the dying. Many of the principal nobility had fallen on both sides ; and more than 9000 men were numbered among the slain. The battle was celebrated as a victory in all the Austrian and Spanish dominions ; but the rapidity with which Wallenstein evacuated Saxony was sufficient evidence that he confessed his defeat.

To the Protestants the triumph was a melancholy one, and the glory of conquest dearly bought. He who had led them to the field, returned not with them to partake of their joys or receive their congratulations. When the tumult of battle had ceased, the first anxiety of the Swedes was to recover the dead body of their king. "After a long search (to use the words of Schiller) the corpse was discovered not far from the great stone which, for a hundred years before, had stood between Lutzen and the canal ; and which, from the memorable disaster of that day, still bears the name of the 'Stone of the Swede,' covered with blood and wounds so

as scarcely to be recognised, trampled beneath the hoofs of the cavalry, stript of its ornaments and clothes by the rude hands of the plunderers. The body was drawn from beneath a heap of slain, conveyed to Weissenfels, and there delivered up to the lamentations of the army and the last embraces of his queen." These sympathies were not confined to his immediate followers.* The Protestants beheld with dismay the prostration of their hopes, which they had identified with their great leader ; and the emperor himself is said to have betrayed signs of deep emotion at the sight of the royal doublet stained with gore. Sweden was inconsolable for the loss of her illustrious monarch, and the tears of Germany were shed with unfeigned sorrow over his grave.

History has uniformly borne honourable testimony to the character of this celebrated prince. That there was no leaven of selfish ambition mixed with the higher motives by which he was actuated, it would be too much to assert. His zeal for the reformed faith led him to aim at the establishment of a power which might have ultimately vested him with the Imperial crown and the sovereignty of the whole continent. The

* The fall of Gustavus excited a great sensation throughout Europe. In Ellis's *Original Letters* (second series, 1827) there is a curious account of this event, in a letter from one Mr Pary (in London) to Sir Thomas Puckering, communicating "the newes brought out of Dutchland (Dec. 2d, 1632) by a German named Dalbier." "The king (saith hee) being shott on the arme with a pistoll, call'd to his cousin, Bernard, duke of Weymar, to make way for his retreat, that hee might goe and dresse his wound. But as the word was in his mouth, an horseman of the enemy prying the king steadfastly in the face, said, You are the birde wee haue so long lookt for, and with that shott him through the boddy with a brace of bulletts, so that the king fell off his horse starke ded, and Duke Bernard slewe the man that had thus killed him. But that which soundes harshe and incredible in all men's ears is, that the king's body thus falling should bee so much neglected, as to be left all day and all night in the field, and to be found next morning stript stark naked among the promiscuous carcasses !" Other accounts contradicted this report, "and yesterday (says this writer) there was at least L.200 layd in wagers that he is still alive. Mr James Maxwell's brother said, "hee would lay ten to one the king was dead, whereupon suche a throng of people came about him with golde in their handes, as almost putt him out of countenance, and made him glad to accept no more but three pieces."

homage which he exacted from Augsburg and other cities, his reluctance to surrender several of the conquered states to their legitimate owners, and his open attempts to bestow the territory of Mentz on the Elector of Brandenburg as the dower of his daughter Christina, all tend to corroborate the presumption that he meditated the erection of a kingdom for himself on the ruins of the house of Austria. Denmark and Saxony viewed his greatness with jealousy and alarm ; and France, apprehending a second irruption of the Goths, began to look abroad for the means of checking his progress, and maintaining the political equilibrium of Europe. With his sudden decease these gloomy anticipations vanished. Perhaps his reputation has suffered unjustly ; but whatever his designs may have been, death preserved his fame unsullied, and it cannot be disputed that, so long as he lived, his victories were greatly instrumental in promoting the Protestant cause and the liberties of Germany.

In military talents he was unquestionably without a rival. Familiar with the tactics of Greece and Rome, he had discovered a more effective system of warfare, which was afterwards adopted by the most distinguished generals of the time. He diminished the large and unwieldy masses of cavalry, in order to render their movements more active and rapid ; and with the same view, he placed his battalions at a greater distance from each other. His army was drawn up in two lines instead of one, as was the usual practice, that the second might advance in the event of the first giving way. The strictest discipline was maintained among the troops ; all outrages were punished with rigid severity ; especially impiety, theft, gambling, and duelling. The eye of the leader was directed with the same vigilance to the morals as to the martial training of his soldiers ; every regiment formed a circle round its chaplain for morning and evening prayers ; and in all these duties Gustavus was at once the legislator and the most scrupulous observer of the law. The frugality which he enjoined on others he practised himself ; his tent displayed neither silver nor gold ; and with the meanest in his

ranks he shared their hardships and their humble fare. Brave even to rashness, he forgot the perils by which he was surrounded, until the career of the hero and the reign of the king, ended in the death of a common soldier.*

The animating spirit of the war had fled ; the disconsolate Protestants considered their ruin as inevitable, whilst the emperor gathered fresh courage from the death of a dreaded rival. The result showed how fallible are all human calculations on contingent events. A master mind had fallen, but its glorious example had raised up others. Many able generals, who had hitherto been the mere instruments of a superior will, stepped forward to exercise their individual prowess, and to seek in their own talents those resources which they had found in the extraordinary genius of their commander. Accordingly, the designs of Gustavus were carried on by a succession of distinguished warriors and statesmen, who were conversant with his political views, and had been trained under his eye in the military art. The supreme direction of affairs was intrusted to Chancellor Oxenstiern, the favourite and first minister of the late king. The deceased monarch had left no male heir to the crown, which was settled on his infant daughter Christina ; but the regency, consisting of five of the principal officers of state, resolved to prosecute with fresh vigour those operations which had already reflected so much glory on the national character.

Every measure was adopted that tended to the security of the kingdom and the success of the campaign. To check the intrigues of Ladislaus of Poland, who had renewed his claim to the Swedish throne, all intercourse with that country was prohibited ; whilst the renewal of the alliance with the Czar of Muscovy, the inveterate enemy of the Poles, seemed effectually to prevent any attempt to enforce these pretensions by the sword. Denmark, which the emperor had hoped to draw over

* Schiller, vol. ii. b. iii. Harte's *Life of Gustavus Adolphus*. Puffendorf, *Commentar. de Rebus Suecicis*, lib. xxvi. Mauvillon, *Hist. de Gustave Adolphe*. Heeren, *Polit. Syst. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 142-160.

to his interest by embroiling her in a quarrel with Sweden, pursued a very different course of policy. The death of his rival, and the strong desire which Christian IV. cherished of reuniting the Northern crowns by matching his son Ulrick with the young queen, inclined him to remain neuter, instead of listening to the suggestions of Austria. England, Holland, and France proffered assurances of their continued friendship ; but the most efficient ally was the latter power, whose troops, under Guebriant, Condé, Turenne, and other officers, powerfully seconded the exertions of the Swedes.

The Protestant union, however, had to contend with many disadvantages. With the death of its leader, the temporary bond of coalition was dissolved, and the confederacy, deprived of its presiding genius, if not entirely broken up, was threatened with ruin by the spirit of division among its own members, several of whom resumed their former independence, or entered into alliance with the emperor. Notwithstanding these unpropitious circumstances, the warlike energies of Sweden, directed by a succession of able native commanders, Horn, Banner, Torstenson, and Wrangel, aided by Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and other petty princes of Germany, triumphed over every difficulty. Even the treaty of Prague (1635), which reconciled the Elector of Saxony with the emperor, and detached so many Protestant states from active interference in the war, could not arrest the victorious career of the Swedish generals. Under their auspices, the struggle was honourably maintained for sixteen years ; during which the entire continent from the Danube to the Baltic became the alternate prey of the victors and the vanquished.

The treachery and fall of Wallenstein favoured the progress of the confederates, but without bringing with it those advantages which they had anticipated. Their successes in Westphalia, Saxony, and Franconia, the victories of Oldendorf, Domitz, and Wittsbach, (1636), and the triumphs of Duke Bernard over the Austrians upon the Rhine, were fully counterbalanced by

the defeat of the Saxons at Steinau, of the Swedes at Nordlingen and Rhenfeldt, and of the French at Freyberg. *Asthis sanguinary war*, the details of which belong to European rather than Swedish history, drew to a close, fortune seemed more and more to desert the Imperialists. The pacification by which it was terminated, was the celebrated treaty of Munster, or peace of Westphalia, the preliminaries of which were signed at Hamburg so early as 1641, although it was not finally concluded until the 24th of October 1648. This convention, whilst it gave an effectual check to the ambition of Austria, established at the same time a new fundamental law in the empire, and secured the mutual toleration of its different religious communities.

The terms on which Sweden retired from the contest were highly honourable and advantageous. From an obscure and isolated state, she was now elevated to the rank of a first-rate power. It was stipulated, that besides a gratuity of five millions of crowns to the army, she should retain the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden secularized, the whole of Upper Pomerania, Stettin, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar ; all to be holden as fiefs of the empire, with three votes in the diet. Some of her historians have alleged that she might, by prolonging the struggle for another campaign, have extorted more humiliating concessions from Austria, as she maintained at the signature of the peace above a hundred garrisons in Germany, several fortresses in the heart of the Imperial dominions, and a fine veteran army of nearly 70,000 troops, supported chiefly at the enemy's expense. But these favourable circumstances were more than counterbalanced by the increasing distresses that prevailed at home, and the continuance of hostilities between France and Spain, which would have devolved on the Swedish regency the whole burden and hazard of a doubtful contest, at an expense of blood and treasure that might ultimately have ruined the kingdom.

Denmark was also included in the peace of Westphalia ; but the events of the preceding campaigns, which

had contributed so materially to the elevation of the rival state, had proportionally depressed her influence in the political balance. While the Swedish flag waved on the Danube, certain hostile indications on her part attracted the storm which desolated the Imperial dominions to the coasts of the Baltic. The mediation of Christian IV. had often been invoked during the war, and his alliance was courted in vain both by the Catholic and Protestant leaders. The object constantly kept in view by the court of Copenhagen throughout these negotiations, was to contribute to the conclusion of such a peace as might guarantee the independence of the Protestant states in Germany, and to exclude the Swedes from such territorial acquisitions on the Baltic and the Elbe as might endanger the security of Denmark.*

As this policy conflicted with Chancellor Oxenstiern's eager desire to obtain, for his own country, possession of Pomerania and the bishopric of Bremen, as an indemnity for the vast sacrifices they had made in the common cause, that astute minister assembled the Swedish diet in 1643, and laid before a committee of their body the motives and pretexts of the war which he was already prepared to wage against the rival kingdom. The obstacles which Christian had thrown in the way of their navigation in the Sound, the burdens he imposed on their commerce, and the jealousy with which he had laboured to obstruct the progress of their arms, all tended to confirm the Swedes in their determination to seek revenge ; nor could the exhausted state of the na-

* Christian's jealousy of Sweden led him to form the romantic scheme of subduing that kingdom, and destroying the trade of its allies, the Dutch, in the Baltic. Spain favoured the design, and embarked a body of troops who were to join the Danes before Stockholm ; but the defeat of the Spanish fleet in the British Channel by Van Tromp frustrated the whole project. One Brockman, a German, likewise proposed to Christian a plan for ruining the traffic of Holland to the Levant, by opening a direct intercourse with Persia through the rivers that fall into the Baltic, and avoiding the Sound by cutting a canal across Holstein. An embassy was actually sent to the Persian court, and ten tons of gold were offered to the Czar for liberty to pass through his dominions. The extravagance of these projects excited nothing but ridicule. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 169.

tion, nor the embarrassments in which they were placed in Germany, deter them from carrying their resolution into immediate effect. It was, besides, of the highest importance, now that deliberations for peace had commenced, to diminish the influence which Denmark might exert over these councils, to the injury of her neighbour.

The unbounded authority of the Chancellor easily procured the approval of a design, the policy of which seemed clear, however equivocal its justice. Of these intentions Torstenson had been secretly apprized, and in September 1643 he suddenly left Moravia, and moved into Silesia. The cause of this step no one knew, nor was it until he had reached Havelberg on the Elbe, after various marches and counter-marches to conceal his real object, that he astonished his troops by informing them of his purpose to lead them against the Danes. Crossing that river early in December, he fell like a thunderbolt upon the defenceless province of Holstein. Hostilities commenced without any previous declaration of war, and so well had the secret been kept, that neither France nor Holland, nor even the Danish minister himself, entertained the slightest suspicion that such an attack was meditated. Meeting with no resistance, the Swedes poured like an inundation through the two duchies of Holstein and Sleswig, all the fortresses of which, except Rendsburg and Gluckstadt, were taken, and the whole peninsula overrun from the Elbe to the Skaw. Another army under Gustavus Horn penetrated simultaneously into Scania, and advanced to Helsingborg on the Sound, so that all communication between the continental and insular provinces was intercepted ; and nothing but the severity of the weather prevented the invaders from carrying the war into Zealand and Fionia, and thus completing the conquest of the kingdom.

To repel this unexpected aggression, Christian had urged the senate and the nobility to furnish him with the necessary supplies, but the country owed its means of defence chiefly to his own personal exertions. He endeavoured to equip a fleet adequate to prevent the

enemy from passing the narrow arms of the sea, and embarked early in the spring with a view to attack Gottenborg ; but the approach of the Dutch squadron, which came to assist the Swedes, compelled him to raise the blockade. Although he failed in the main object of his expedition, he succeeded in effecting a diversion by withdrawing the enemy from the invasion of Scania, to the defence of their new commercial capital of Gothland. The Dutchmen took shelter behind the island of Syltoe on the west coast of Sleswig, where they were cannonaded by Christian ; but their small draught of water enabled them to lie beyond the reach of his guns, and at last they made their escape to Holland.

The indefatigable monarch now returned to Copenhagen, and refitted another expedition of 40 vessels, with which he set sail, after arranging his worldly affairs and conferring the regency of the kingdom on his son Prince Christian. On the 1st of July a battle took place with the Swedes under the gallant Fleming, near the island of Femeren ; in which the Danish high admiral was killed, and the king himself wounded in the eye by a splinter. The enemy's squadron, after ten hours of heavy cannonading, was compelled to retire in a shattered condition into the bay of Kiel, where they were again attacked the following day. The death of Fleming might have secured victory for the Danes ; but General Wrangel, an officer who had earned high renown in the German war, assumed the command, and made his escape to the open sea, unperceived by Admiral Galt, who had been left to watch their movements. On his return to Copenhagen, the latter was tried for his negligence and condemned to death. The Swedish squadron was again joined by the Dutch at Calmar, and the combined fleet, consisting of more than thirty vessels, encountered Christian near Laaland (October 13), where they gained a complete victory ; fifteen out of seventeen Danish ships having been taken, burnt, or stranded. From this fatal blow their navy did not recover until its supremacy in the Baltic was once more asserted, in the reign of Chris-

tian V. under the auspices of that renowned admiral. Niels Juel, the pupil and rival of the De Ruyters and Van Tromps, and the predecessor of the Adlers and the Tordenskiolds, by whom the maritime renown of their country was raised to the highest pitch.

Notwithstanding this disaster, the king had attained his great object of preventing the naval force of the enemy from renewing the invasion of the Danish islands, as meditated by Torstenson. The war now dwindled down into a series of skirmishes and sieges in Jutland and Scania, destitute of interest in their details, and unmarked by any decisive issue, as neither party could succeed in expelling or vanquishing the other. Horn at length reduced Landsrona; and penetrating into the provinces of Halland and Bleking, he defeated the Danes in several rencounters, and took Laholm by assault. On the frontier of Norway the Swedes also made some progress, and got possession of the island of Berckholm. The emperor could not be expected to view this contest with indifference, and accordingly he despatched Count Gallas with an army into Holstein, where he took Kiel, and hoped by a junction with the Danes to shut up the Swedish troops in Jutland. But his career was speedily checked by Torstenson, who drove him from the duchy, and cleared the whole course of the Elbe as far as Magdeburg and Bernburg.

At length conferences for peace between the two nations were opened at Bromsbro, on the frontier of Scania and Gothland, under the mediation of France, which terminated (August 1645) in the signature of a definitive treaty. The exemption of the Swedish navigation from the payment of the Sound duties, was confirmed and secured by the cession of the Danish province of Halland during the space of thirty years, as a pledge for the performance of this stipulation. The long-contested district of Jamtland, on the Norwegian frontier, and that part of Herjedalen on the eastern side of the Dovrefield, with the isles of Gothland and Oesel, were also ceded in perpetuity to Sweden. Thus did the enterprise and

activity of the Swedes triumph over all opposition, and gain important advantages over a nation formerly their conquerors, at a time when they seemed fully occupied and almost exhausted with their wars in Germany.

Christian justly reproached his nobility with their want of patriotism, as the cause of the hard necessity which had compelled him to accept these conditions, sufficiently humiliating to Denmark, though far from satisfying the exorbitant pretensions of Oxenstiern. In the bitterness of his indignation the aged monarch declared that his nobles cared neither for God, country, nor king, when put in competition with the selfish interests of their own order. To obviate the recurrence of future dangers from that quarter, and to prevent the country from being again surprised in the same defenceless state, he proposed to the senate to abolish the feudal militia, and furnish revenues to keep on foot a permanent military force by a general scheme of taxation, and by farming the crown lands to the highest bidder. This equitable proposition was pertinaciously resisted by the aristocracy, who had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly of the public domains and regal fiefs, whilst they were entirely exempted from the state burdens, except those contributions in money and service voted on extraordinary occasions by the diet called the *Herredag*.

In order to secure the election of his son Frederick to the throne (his eldest son Prince Christian having died in 1647), the king wrote to the senate, desiring them to take measures for assembling the general national diet, which was summoned to meet in April 1648. But Christian did not live to see the appointment of his successor, having expired on the 28th of February, at the age of seventy-one, after a long and unfortunate reign of fifty-two years. The character of this monarch was adorned with many princely virtues and excellent qualities, which have justly endeared his memory to the Danish and Norwegian nations. His heroic valour, warm patriotism, and unwearied devotion to the welfare of his subjects, contributed to win their esteem, which was

confirmed by the remarkable affability of his manners, and his adopting, without reserve, their vernacular language and customs. Most of his predecessors of the Oldenburg family were considered as German foreigners, who regarded the country and the people they had governed for a century and a half with something like contempt and aversion.

Christian was loved as a native, and the feelings he had inspired at the outset of his reign continued unabated during his whole life. When not engaged in war, he frequently journeyed through the various provinces of Denmark, and never failed to make an annual voyage to Norway, which had long been neglected by the Danish sovereigns. He built Christiania and Christiansand in that kingdom, explored its mineral riches, and published a recompilation of its ancient laws, which had become inapplicable to the altered condition of the inhabitants. He also constructed the fortresses of Christianopol and Christianstadt on the Swedish frontier, Gluckstadt on the Elbe, and the suburb of Christianshaven in the isle of Amager, connecting them by a long bridge with the capital, which he also improved and embellished with several new public edifices, amongst which were the palaces of Rosenberg and Fredericksborg, built in the modern Gothic style after designs by the celebrated Inigo Jones, and bearing a striking resemblance to Heriot's Hospital at Edinburgh and St John's College Oxford, of which, it is well known, that distinguished architect furnished the plans.

Nor was the taste of this monarch confined to erections of a civic or ornamental nature only. He had the good sense to perceive that the sea was the element which the maritime genius of his people had, from the earliest times, indicated as their appropriate theatre of action. With the minutest details of ship-building and navigation he was familiarly acquainted ; he commanded his fleets in person, and was even more distinguished as an admiral than a general, although in the latter capacity he had merited and received the eulogiums of the greatest



Fredericksborg Castle,

captains of his age. He endeavoured to encourage trade and manufactures by such means as were deemed at that period the most efficacious,—the establishment of companies with exclusive privileges, and the prohibition of rival productions from abroad. With this view, an association of merchants to trade to India was incorporated in 1618; they fitted out several vessels, which sailed with a convoy of ships of war, under Ove Gjedde, to open a commerce with Ceylon; but the traffic of that island being then monopolized by the Portuguese, they repaired to the Coromandel coast, where they obtained from the Rajah of Tanjore the cession of Tranquebar, which has continued ever since in possession of the Danes. Christian likewise rescued the trade of Iceland from the hands of the Hanseatic merchants, who had abused their privileges to the oppression of the natives; and established a Danish company to carry on the commerce of that island. He also sent out two expeditions under Admiral Lindenow, to explore the coasts of

Greenland, and endeavour to discover some traces of the ancient Norwegian colonies settled there in the tenth century. These attempts, however, were entirely fruitless; and it is only in our own times that Runic inscriptions and other vestiges of the early Scandinavian settlers have been found on the west, not on the east coast of Greenland, opposite to Iceland, where they had been previously sought for, owing to a misconception of the relations contained in the sagas.

The opening of the trade to India by the Cape of Good Hope induced Christian to employ a Norwegian navigator, Hans Munk, in the search for a north-west passage to Asia. That adventurer sailed in 1619 to Greenland, penetrated the bay then recently discovered by Hudson, spent the winter in the gulf now called Chesterfield Inlet, and after enduring almost incredible hardships, returned to Copenhagen without having accomplished an object which continued to baffle the improved skill of maritime science, until the problem received a solution from the discoveries of Ross and Parry. Christian was a bountiful patron of letters, and especially of those studies fitted to illustrate the national annals and antiquities. As the vernacular tongue was only known within his own dominions, he invited the celebrated Dutch scholars Meursius and Pontanus to Copenhagen, and employed them to compose a general history of the kingdom in Latin, a language that was intelligible to the learned of all countries.*

On the accession of Frederick III. the senate renewed their attempts to secure the preservation of those liberties and privileges which they had derived from the concessions made to their predecessors by the kings of Denmark. Their first act was to confer the regency

* The principal authorities consulted for the reign of Christian IV. besides the general histories of Holberg and Baden, are Schlegel's "*Geschichte der Könige von Danemark aus den Oldenburgischen Stämmen*," Slangé's *Kong Kristian den Fierdes Historie*, translated into German with valuable annotations by Schlegel; also the various collections of Nyerup and Suhm relating to this monarch. The Swedish authorities for this period are Loccen. lib. ix. Puffend. tom. vi. lib. vi. Archenholz, *Vie de Christine*, tom. i.

of the state on the four great officers of the crown ; amongst these was the grand-master, Corfitz Ulfeld, who had married a daughter of Christian IV. by a lady of an ancient and noble family whom he had espoused " with the left hand," according to the usage of the times, after the death of his queen, Anna Catherina of the house of Brandenburg. Ulfeld was a man remarkable for the versatility of his talents, his love of pleasure, his taste for splendour, and a boundless ambition, which was believed to aim at nothing less than the crown itself. He had enjoyed and abused the favour of the late king, whose strong partiality for his son-in-law excited the jealousy of the other senators. They resolved therefore to anticipate and defeat his alleged designs, by hastily drawing up a capitulation, which they presented to Prince Frederick as the condition of his election to the vacant throne. This instrument was still more favourable to the pretensions of the senatorial oligarchy, than any which had been extorted from the House of Oldenburg. Ulfeld had contrived to insert in it a stipulation, that every vacancy in the senate should be filled up by the nobility of that province in which the deceased senator had resided, nominating several candidates, one of whom they were to select as a member of their own body. The great officers of the crown, and the stadtholder of Norway, were also in future to be appointed by the king, from a list of those candidates presented to him on the part of the senate. The restrictions thus imposed upon the monarch reduced the regal authority to a mere shadow like that of the Doge of Venice. The deputies of the clergy, burghers, and peasants refused to sanction these exclusive privileges ; warm debates arose, which terminated in the recognition of Frederick's elevation to the throne, but at the same time gave presage of the approaching tempest that was soon to lay prostrate the aristocracy, and vest in the crown the powers of an absolute and unlimited sovereignty.

At the accession of this monarch, the affairs of Denmark, both internally and externally, were in a state of

unusual depression. The military force had been wasted in the late German wars, and her marine destroyed in the conflict with Sweden, while Norway seemed disposed to assume a republican form of government. Her treasury was exhausted, her nobility insolent, her people discontented and impoverished by having the whole burden of taxation thrown on their shoulders. Sweden, on the other hand, had acquired a renown in the field, and a passion for conquest, which rendered her more formidable than ever to the neighbouring states. The political helm was still guided by the experience of Oxenstiern, who had already shown himself as implacable in his enmity to Denmark, as he was keenly alive to the honour and interests of his own country.

To ward off the danger which threatened the kingdom from that quarter, Frederick and his senate endeavoured to form a close connexion with the United Provinces, whose commercial intercourse with the Baltic induced them to hold the balance of power between the two Northern states with an even hand, in order to prevent either from obtaining a decided ascendancy. With this view, Ulfeld was despatched to Holland, where he had been employed in very important and difficult negotiations during the late reign. The result of his present mission was the signature of two treaties, one of alliance, and the other of redemption, as it was called, by which Dutch vessels were exempted from all duties, as well as visitation and search, on the passage of the Sound, for thirty-six years, on the payment of 120,000 rix-dollars annually. These compacts were immediately ratified by Frederick, whose pecuniary necessities made him anxious to receive the sum of 200,000 rix-dollars, which the states-general agreed to pay in advance on account of this commutation. But the conduct of Ulfeld in this affair was severely arraigned on his return to Copenhagen by the court faction, who regarded his influence with envy, and were emboldened in their projects by the countenance of the young queen, Sophia Amelia, daughter to the Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg.

To humble his pride, the titles and privileges conferred on his mother, Christina Munk, by the late king, were withdrawn. To avoid the machinations of his enemies, he retired to Sweden, where his fascinating qualities recommended him to the favour of the queen, and where he employed his talents in endeavouring to stir up war against his native country. His private property was sequestrated, whilst the fiefs and honours which he held were conferred on his adversaries in the senate.

Hostilities having broken out in 1652 between the United Provinces and the English commonwealth, the states-general demanded from Frederick the succour stipulated by the treaty of alliance of 1649; but the Danish exchequer being in a state of complete dilapidation, a new arrangement was proposed by the government, as more advantageous to themselves, and perhaps equally beneficial to Holland, by which they engaged to keep up a fleet of twenty vessels in the Sound, for the purpose of excluding the English flag from the Baltic. For the support of this squadron the states-general agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 192,000 rix-dollars; the redemption treaty was annulled, and the Dutch shipping were to pay the Sound duties imposed by the former treaty of Christianopol. Denmark thus became involved in the war between the two republics, but her efforts were confined to depredations on the English commerce in the Baltic, for which the Protector Cromwell made a spirited remonstrance through his envoy Bradshaw, and afterwards exacted compensation by the treaty of peace concluded in 1654, not from the Danish government, but from that of Holland, at whose instigation twenty-two English merchantmen, laden with materials for ship-building, had been seized in the harbour of Copenhagen, and confiscated by the king's order before a formal declaration of hostilities was made.

During these proceedings in Denmark, the reign of Christina had come to a voluntary termination. The character of this extraordinary princess will scarcely find a parallel in history. She had discovered an early

passion for science and literature ; and after having enjoyed all that human greatness could command, she began, while yet in the prime of life, to affect a contempt of power and courtly splendour ; and evinced a strong desire to withdraw from the administration of state affairs to the tranquil shades of philosophical retirement. The love of distinction was her ruling foible ; but instead of seeking it in the cabinet or the camp, she preferred to gratify that desire by extending her patronage to letters and the polite arts. It was her ambition to be thought the sovereign of the learned world, and to dictate in the lyceum as she had done in the senate. Poets and painters, mathematicians and metaphysicians became her greatest favourites. She drew to her court Grotius, Vossius, Des Cartes, and other eminent men, whom she liberally rewarded. She affected to correspond with the most celebrated scholars in Europe, and readily purchased, at an extravagant price, the works of some of the best Italian masters.

But flattery seduced her into notions alien to the natural dictates of the female heart, and she forfeited her title to superior wisdom by laying claim to tastes and inclinations which she did not possess. The fine paintings of Titian were clipped and mangled to fit the pannels of her gallery ; her studies in general were too antiquated and abstract to give lustre to her character as a woman, and by occupying too much of her attention they were injurious to her reputation as a queen. She acceded to the peace of Westphalia, more from a desire to gratify her literary propensities, than out of any regard for the happiness of Sweden or the repose of Europe. *Still she found the cares of government too troublesome ;* and with a view to indulge her in her favourite amusements, without disadvantage to the state, the senate proposed that she should marry her cousin, the Count Palatine, Charles Gustavus, for whom she had been destined from her infancy, and thus devolve the weight of the administration upon her husband. That prince had distinguished himself in the German wars under

Torstenson, and appears to have been a favourite with the queen, who corresponded with him in his absence, and seemed flattered with his gallantries, although she declined to receive his addresses. Like the English Elizabeth, though not impenetrable to the softer passion, she preferred to reign in solitary undivided power, rather than consent to surrender her liberty, or share her throne with a partner. She prevailed with the states, however, in 1650, to declare Charles her successor, a measure by which she hoped to secure her own repose, to maintain the tranquillity of Sweden, and repress the ambition of those powerful nobles who, knowing that she was the last of the royal line, might endeavour, in the event of her death, to introduce new schemes of government, or offer pretensions to the crown. The appointment accordingly took place in 1652, and passed through the usual forms.

But neither the pursuits of Christina nor her purpose to abdicate were agreeable to the nation. Refinement and literature had made but little progress among the Swedes, whose martial spirit was now at its height ; and they murmured to see the daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus devoting her time and talents to the study of dead languages, the collecting of medals, pictures, and statues, or the still more profitless occupation of disputing about innate ideas, and metaphysical theories to prove the existence of the material universe. Their displeasure was still more increased when they found the resources of the kingdom exhausted, and the nobler cares of royalty neglected for what they considered to be mere childish amusements. Again the queen was importuned to lay aside her purpose of resigning, and consent to take a husband. Whether from caprice, or the pathetic solicitations of Oxenstiern, she agreed to abandon her project of quitting the sovereignty, and to resume the administration, on condition that she should be no more pressed to marry, as she alleged there were certain duties required in the nuptial bond, with which she could never prevail on herself to comply.

Her subjects were now beginning to taste the blessings of repose, and flattering themselves with the belief that her reign would be long and prosperous, when her determination to abdicate the throne suddenly returned. The senate convened at Upsala (June 1654), and heard her resolution in silent astonishment. She there solemnly divested herself of all authority, resigned the crown to her cousin, who assumed the title of Charles X., and dismissed the assembly in an eloquent speech, which drew tears from all present, recapitulating the various transactions of her reign, and the numerous instances of her care and affection for her people.

Christina was only at the age of twenty-nine when she renounced the honours and functions of royalty. Following the romantic bent of her mind, and under pretext of confirming her health, she proposed a journey to some foreign land, where the sciences had made greater progress than in Sweden. After despoiling the palace of every thing curious or valuable, she left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbarism. She passed through Germany in male attire, intending to fix her residence at Rome, that she might have opportunities of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity. At Innspruck she solemnly abjured the Lutheran religion, having shortly before embraced the Catholic faith at Brussels, not from any attachment to that creed, for she held both in equal contempt, but that she might conform to the tenets of the people among whom she intended to live.

Like most sovereigns who have become weary of the throne, this whimsical woman soon discovered that private life had fewer charms than she anticipated, and that the world is not disposed to pay honour to a queen without power. Repenting of her resignation, she is alleged to have carried on a series of intrigues for her restoration, and failing in her designs upon Sweden, she entered the lists as a competitor for the crown of Poland. However that may be, she certainly grew tired of Italy, and made two journeys to France, where she was

received with much respect by the learned, whom she delighted with her flatteries and pensions. The modest and polite, especially of her own sex, paid her little attention; nor does she appear to have desired their acquaintance, her masculine air and libertine conversation being such as to keep females of delicacy at a distance. The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, not more distinguished for her wit and beauty than by the multiplicity of her amours, was the only lady in France whom she honoured with any particular marks of her esteem. She preferred society where freedom of speech gave no offence, and to converse with philosophers who, like herself, were above vulgar restraints.

At length an act of cruel and atrocious murder compelled her to quit France. In a fit of amorous jealousy she ordered her favourite, Monaldeschi, to be assassinated in the great gallery of Fontainebleau, and almost in her own presence. Although this flagrant violation of the law of nature and nations, was allowed to pass without punishment, or even inquiry, yet such was the abhorrence in which the perpetrator was held, that she was obliged to return to Rome, where she spent the rest of her days in sensual indulgences, and literary conversations with Cardinal Azzolini, and other members of the sacred college, in admiring many things for which she had no taste, and talking about others which she did not comprehend.*

The throne which Charles X. had ascended, to the exclusion of the Catholic branch of the house of Wasa, was beset with numerous difficulties, that required his utmost address to remove. To replenish the exhausted treasury, and lighten the national burden of taxation, he proposed a reunion to the crown of all the lands and revenues that had been alienated by grants to favourites, or lavished in support of the queen's household during the late reign. He strongly recommended the propriety of putting the kingdom in a state of defence, less

* *Memoires de Christine*. Puffend. lib. vi. Archenholz. *Vie de Christine*. The queen, after her abdication, was allowed 200,000 rix-dollars annually for her support.

from apprehension of foreign invasion, than with a view to find employment for the martial spirit of the people.

The Swedes, now disarmed for several years, were gradually losing their warlike character; and it was this consideration that induced the ambitious monarch to attempt the recovery of their declining credit by leading them on to new conquests. Puffendorff relates, that immediately on his being crowned, which took place at Upsala, he determined to make an attack upon some one of the neighbouring states, Denmark, Muscovy, or Poland, in order to sustain the military reputation that the country had acquired under his predecessors. After mature deliberation with his councillors, the Poles were selected as the object of hostilities, pretexts for which were readily found in the refusal of that people to acknowledge his title to the crown, and adjust the political disputes that had so long subsisted between the two branches of the house of Wasa. John Casimir, representative of the Catholic branch of that house, had ascended the Polish throne on the death of his brother Ladislaus in 1648, and protested against the exclusion of his family from what he deemed their hereditary rights to the Swedish succession. For this insult Charles haughtily refused every apology; and his resolution to make war was warmly abetted by a fugitive nobleman called Radjenski, who, like Count Ulfeld, eagerly sought to avenge his private injuries by encouraging foreigners to invade his native land.*

At the head of a numerous army, composed of the veteran bands of Gustavus Adolphus, he penetrated into the heart of the devoted country, which was too much distracted both by religious and civil broils to offer effective resistance. The conqueror received the ready submission of the inhabitants wherever he directed his march; he entered many of the towns without obstruction, obtained ten victories in the field, made himself master of Cracow, and drove the terrified Casimir, with

* Puffend. lib. vii. Hist. des Revolut. de Pologne, par l'Abbé des Fontaines.

his family, into Siberia. Abandoned by their own sovereign, the vaivodes and provincial governors now transferred their allegiance to the invader. The Polish militia entered his service, and in three months Charles might be said, had oaths been sufficient to keep the vanquished in subjection, to have conquered a kingdom of extent and power equal to his own.

But it soon appeared that this submission was dictated by necessity. The Poles invoked the aid of the neighbouring princes, rose up in indignation against their oppressors, and on the reappearance of their king, abandoned the usurper. The Czar Alexis and Leopold I. of Hungary espoused their cause. Frederick III. of Denmark, at the instigation of Holland, resolved also to enter the lists, although a rupture with Sweden appeared to be equally unjust and impolitic. Impatient to seize the golden opportunity of checking the power of an ambitious rival, while harassed and reduced to extreme distress in Poland, he equipped a fleet and sailed for the mouth of the Vistula, with the intention of blockading Dantzic, and preventing the enemy from embarking at that port. But scarcely had he cast anchor in the gulf, when he received the mortifying intelligence that the Swedish monarch had already effected his retreat through Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and was in full march to invade Holstein. That province was speedily overrun, and planted with strong garrisons. The Danish admiral Bilde fled to Fredericia, while the Swedes spread themselves over the adjacent districts, and completed the subjugation of the whole peninsula, from the Elbe to the extreme point of Jutland. The duchy of Bremen was subdued by Wrangel, who, in the space of two weeks, retook all the towns in possession of the Danes. Fredericia was captured by storm; and in the winter of 1657-8, Charles passed the Little Belt on the ice, and made himself master of Fionia. Encouraged by this success, he undertook another enterprise still more daring and hazardous. The broad arm of the sea between that island and Zealand was then

frozen sufficiently strong (a rare occurrence even in the severest seasons) to enable couriers to pass with safety. Taking advantage of this incident, the adventurous prince crossed the successive straits between the islands, and pushed on through the deep snow-drift to Kiøge, about eighteen English miles from Copenhagen.*

In this extremity, Frederick, whose patriotic ardour was not supported by the Danish nobility, was advised by the senate to sue for peace, and even to purchase it at the sacrifice of losing part of his dominions. Though elated with his singularly good fortune, the conqueror agreed to treat under the mediation of the French and English ambassadors; and within ten days after the landing of the invaders in Zealand, the preliminaries were arranged and signed at the small village of Hage-Testrup. By the terms of this convention, affirmed by a definitive treaty subsequently concluded at Roskilde (1658), the Danish provinces beyond the Sound, Scania, Halland, and Bleking,† were irrecoverably ceded to Sweden, to which they have ever since remained attached, as also the district of Trondheim, the northern part of Norway, and the island of Bornholm. The traitor Ulfeld, who acted as one of the commissioners in this negotiation, so prejudicial to the honour and interests of his native country, succeeded in obtaining the restoration of his titles and estates. The ratification of the peace was followed by an interview between the two

* In commemoration of this remarkable expedition, Charles caused a medal to be struck, with the legend on one side, "*Transitus gloriosus maris Baltici, d. 7, Feb 1658;*"—and on the other, "*Natura hoc debuit uni,*" in allusion to the rare occurrence of the sea being frozen at the passage of the Great Belt.

† Forsell states that M. Dalberg urged Charles to choose Norway instead of those provinces, saying that "these would sooner or later fall to Sweden;" but his advice was overruled by "a certain M. Coyet, who represented the fruitfulness of these provinces in such advantageous colours, that the king determined for them." Charles afterwards repented that he had not followed Dalberg's counsel. Forsell thinks that a union of the two countries at that early date would have proved beneficial to both. *Statist. von Schwed.* p. 36.

sovereigns at the royal palace of Fredericksborg, where his Danish majesty had provided an entertainment for the foreign ministers.

But the grasping ambition of Charles was far from being satiated with this triumph over a rival state; he had observed its weakness, and secretly meditated a renewal of the war. Leaving his army under the command of Wrangel, he crossed the Sound, took possession of his newly-acquired territories, and convened the Swedish diet at Gottenborg, to deliberate respecting the schemes of national aggrandizement which he had in contemplation; among which was a plan for the partition of Poland, between himself, the Czar, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the House of Austria. But Denmark was the object to which his views were more immediately directed. Accordingly, in defiance of the recent treaty, he repaired to Holstein, and being joined by his fleet, he once more invested Copenhagen, to the astonishment and consternation of the inhabitants. Frederick threw himself on the patriotism of his people, and adopted the most energetic measures for a vigorous resistance. The siege continued three months, during which Wrangel took possession of the strong fortress of Cronborg, the gallant commander being obliged to capitulate by the mutiny of his garrison. In October the long-expected succour from Holland, under Opdam, made its appearance in the Sound. Wrangel, who acted alternately as general and admiral, disputed the passage of the Dutch, and opened a fire from the castles on each side of the Strait. The two hostile fleets came into immediate collision, and after an obstinate contest, memorable among the naval achievements of that age, the Swedish squadron was completely defeated, and compelled to retire to Landscrona, where it was shortly afterwards blockaded by the enemy. Opdam pursued his course to Copenhagen roads, where he was received with transports of joy by the besieged, who anticipated instant relief. But their hopes were not immediately realized; the rigours of winter had set in, and the ice, whilst it rendered their floating defences

almost useless, facilitated the approaches of the besiegers, who made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the city by storm.*

During these proceedings, the Swedes were equally unfortunate in other quarters. They had been expelled from Holstein and Sleswig by the Poles and the troops of the Elector of Brandenburg, then in alliance with Denmark. They were also driven from the island of Bornholm, and from the province of Trondheim by an insurrection of Norwegian peasants. In the spring of 1659, an English fleet made its appearance in the Baltic, commanded by Admiral Montague, whom the Protector and the Parliament had despatched to watch the motions of the Dutch, and enforce an armed mediation between the belligerent powers.† The negotiation proving un-

* The assault was made on the night of the 11th of February 1659, at three different points successively; viz., on the west side of the town near the palace of Christiansborg, at Christianshaven in the island of Amager, and at the east gate. The Swedish soldiers wore white shirts over their uniforms to prevent their being distinguished from the snow that lay deep on the ground. Under this disguise they approached and scaled the ramparts, and it was not until their weapons clashed against those of the garrison, that they were descried by the sentinels. The assailants were instantly repelled at all points, and the morning sun disclosed their dead bodies scattered about on the frozen ground. Charles retired to his camp, full of rage and mortification at the failure of this attempt, which extinguished all his hopes of bringing the war to a successful termination.

† This pacific measure had been concerted by a secret treaty between France and England, under the auspices of Cardinal Mazarin, to which Holland afterwards acceded. The Dutch and English ambassadors (of whom the famous Algernon Sidney was one) had an interview with Charles in his camp before Copenhagen, when they formally notified to him the proposals of the treaty. The king's pride was deeply affected by this pretension of the two republics to dictate terms to him. "He started back (says the French ambassador Terlon), and placing his hand upon the hilt of his sword, exclaimed, "You form projects with your fleets, and I decide them with my sword! Withdraw your ships without the reach of my batteries, unless you would have me to compel them to retire by force." The ambassadors next addressed themselves to the Danish king, hoping he would listen with more patience to the overtures which they were instructed to make to both sovereigns. But Frederick was as little disposed as his impetuous rival to accede to their propositions. "Make peace, sire!"

successful, De Ruyter, who commanded a separate squadron under Opdam, attacked the enemy's fleet, for the purpose of compelling them to evacuate the Danish territory. A battle was fought near Odensee, in which the Swedes, almost in sight of their king, were completely routed by the Dutch and Danes. The fortress of Nyborg was next attacked, and compelled to surrender after a sharp engagement. Eleven regiments of cavalry, the best troops of Sweden, were made prisoners; and of seven thousand who began the action, there escaped only the two generals, Saltzbach and Steinbock, with a slender retinue of domestics.

This fatal blow sunk deep into the heart of Charles Gustavus; he began to feel that Fortune, the deity worshipped by military conquerors, had deserted his cause; but instead of listening to pacific overtures, he only affected to negotiate in order to gain time to concert a plan for the invasion of the southern part of Norway. With this view he once more passed the Sound, and convened the national diet at Gottenborg, that he might obtain the necessary supplies of men and money for the enterprise. But in the midst of these preparations he was seized with a fever, which was epidemical in the camp, and died on the 11th of February 1660, the same day and hour he had made the memorable attack on Copenhagen the preceding year. He expired in the arms of Oxenstiern, at the early age of thirty-six; having appointed guardians to the young prince, his son, who succeeded him under the title of Charles XI., with


said one of the Dutch deputies, with that haughty and rude freedom with which the republicans of that age were wont to address crowned heads, "if you would not be compelled." "I know not who would compel me (answered the king); but this I know, that neither the Dutch nor the devil himself shall ever force me to it. I am wearied of having been so long deceived by you. Without your intervention, I should long ago have made a more advantageous peace. If perish I must, it shall be as a man of courage and honour." The restoration of Charles II. in England, the departure of Admiral Montague with his fleet, and certain favourable modifications in the basis of the convention, at length induced Frederick to lend a more willing ear to the pacific counsels of his foreign advisers.

a regency nominated to govern the kingdom during his minority.

Charles Gustavus bears the character of a bold, warlike, undaunted, but rash monarch, whose ardour for military fame engaged him in the most unjust quarrels, and whose inventive genius would probably have triumphed over all difficulties, and extorted honourable terms from the different nations with whom he was then at war, had he lived a few years longer. On his deathbed, he had earnestly advised the regency to make peace with all the enemies of Sweden ; and these injunctions were eagerly fulfilled by the government, who saw in the depressed state of the kingdom sufficient necessity for the immediate cessation of hostilities. The celebrated treaty of Oliva was concluded in April 1660, by which the long and deadly feud between the Catholic and Protestant branches of the House of Wasa was extinguished. The late king had made a truce with the Czar Alexis, and the peace of Kardis put an end to the war with Russia. By the present treaty, John Casimir of Poland finally renounced his shadowy claim to the Swedish crown, which had long before been repudiated by the nation. He ceded at the same time the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and the island of Oesel, which were confirmed to Sweden.*

The peace with Denmark met with greater obstructions ; but at length all differences were adjusted and the treaty of Copenhagen signed on the 10th of June, under the guarantee of the three mediating powers, France, England, and Holland. This pacification embraced the conditions of the late treaty of Roskilde, except that the district of Trondheim and the island of Bornholm were restored to the Danes. The tranquillity of the North was thus established in a manner creditable to Sweden, considering the number and power of her enemies, the length of the war, and the distressing situa-

* Puffendorff, *De Reb. Gest. Caroli Gustavi*. *Mémoires du Chev. de Terlon*, depuis 1656-1661, 2 vols. The former is the leading work for the history of this king's wars.



tion in which she was left by the sudden death of the late monarch.

It was at this period that a revolution happened in the Danish government, one of the most important in the annals of that kingdom. The incessant feuds in which the country had been so long engaged had left it in a state of depression and discontent that called loudly for remedial measures. The army was not yet disbanded, and money could not be found to discharge its arrears of pay. The burghers and peasantry, already ruined by the cruel exactions of a foreign enemy, were exposed to additional public burdens by the poverty of the exchequer, and the exemption of the nobility from those taxes to which the commoners were subject. The finances of the kingdom had suffered greatly by the cession of its finest provinces; and the revenues were diminished in consequence of the privileges granted to the Swedish shipping of passing the Sound duty-free. In addition to these grievances, the old law, requiring the assembling of annual parliaments, had fallen into desuetude; the national diet, comprising the four orders of the state, was seldom convened; and even the authority of the Herredag had been gradually merged in the select oligarchy of the senate, who, in their turn, were continually encroaching upon the legislative, the judicial, and even the executive power of the government.

To remedy these anomalies and abuses, Frederick convoked a national diet, which met at Copenhagen on the 8th of September 1660. At this assembly the three orders of the states were present, having never been summoned together in that form since the year 1536, when the Reformation was established. Of the nobles, only thirty-five attended in person; but they were the bearers of numerous proxies for absentees. The clerical body was represented by twenty bishops and other pastors; the university by its rectors; and the principal towns of the kingdom by thirty-eight deputies. The peasants were not cited to this parliament; they had been entirely overlooked in the royal election of 1648, and in most of the provinces had gradually sunk from the rank of in-

dependent freeholders to the condition of feudal bondsmen. The ancient realm of Norway, in its equivocal relation of an hereditary kingdom as regarded by the sovereign, or a dependent province as considered by the Danish senate, was left unrepresented, although the convocation was destined to achieve a fundamental change in the constitution of the entire monarchy.

Whether this revolution was the result of a formal plan of operations, preconcerted between the court and the principal actors, must ever remain a matter of doubt. The queen, a woman of an intriguing and ambitious spirit, openly countenanced the scheme, the leading characters in which were Hans Svane, bishop of Zealand; Michael Nansen, a wealthy merchant, and first burgomaster of Copenhagen; and Hannibal Sehested, a senator of equivocal repute, who on this occasion betrayed his order, and built his own fortune upon the ruins of the aristocracy.

At the opening of the diet, a stormy discussion commenced on the means for providing the necessary supplies. Certain conditions and modifications for equalizing the burdens of taxation, and abolishing the immunities of the nobles, were offered; but, in the heat of discussion, Otto Krag, one of the principal senators, upbraided the commoners as being "slaves," who ought to keep within their own limits, and acquiesce in such measures as ancient usage might warrant. This intemperate language gave rise to a tumult of indignation; the two leaders, Svane and Nansen, with the deputies of their respective orders, retired from the senate-house, and immediately set on foot the design of rendering the crown hereditary. It was soon ascertained that a majority of them were favourable to the measure; and on the question being put, after an animated address by the bishop and the burgomaster, it was carried without a single dissentient voice. A resolution was drawn up and signed by all present, for abolishing the capitulation extorted from the king at his accession, and for securing the throne to the descendants of Frederick, both in the male and female line. The senate was struck with consternation

at this bold and decisive step, and refused to sanction it, on the ground that the states-general then assembled had no right to deliberate on that proposition.

Meantime the capital was greatly agitated by these discussions, the result of which, as the extermination of one or other of the parties, could be no longer doubtful. The nobility, absent from their provinces, without local influence, and unsupported by their vassals, began to dread the consequences of being thus left to struggle alone in the midst of armed enemies. Several who attempted to escape to their estates were stopped at the gates. Perceiving at last that they were caught in the toils, they resolved to quit the town in a body ; but the king, informed of their design, ordered all the avenues to be shut ; the burgher-guard and garrison were under arms, and the capital assumed the aspect of a besieged city. Failing in their attempt to break up the diet, the members of the senate and the nobility had no alternative left but to agree to the resolution of the two inferior orders. A commission was named to discuss the question of the capitulation and the coronation-oath, by which the authority of the sovereign was circumscribed, and the exclusive rights of the senate secured. The result was a unanimous decision that the former should be annulled, and his majesty released from the oath by which he was bound to maintain it.

On the question of unlimited prerogative, their deliberations terminated in conferring on the king a sort of dictatorship, authorizing him to regulate the new constitutional charter or recess according to his good pleasure, and in such a manner "as to his royal majesty should seem best for the general welfare." A formal instrument of abrogation was then prepared, and signed by all the senators and the members of the diet ; and at the same time the nobility, the clergy, and the burghers each drew up a separate statement of the franchises they desired to have recognised and confirmed by the new constitution. On the 18th of October, the solemn ceremony of homage to the hereditary monarch was performed by the different orders and the neighbouring

peasants of Amager, in a temporary amphitheatre erected within the public square, fronting the palace of Christiansborg. His majesty on that occasion again promised to govern his subjects as a Christian king, and speedily to settle the government, so that all classes should experience a just and moderate rule under him and his successors.

Frederick III. thus became the hereditary and unlimited sovereign of a kingdom which his ancestors had governed as feudal chiefs, elected and controlled by their barons. A fundamental revolution, which in other states of Europe had been the slow growth of ages, or the more sudden effect of violent usurpation, was here accomplished in a single day, without shedding one drop of blood, without tumult or disorder, and by the spontaneous union of the crown and the people against the aristocracy.

The eager haste with which the nation conferred this unrestricted authority upon the monarch, without requiring any previous securities against its abuse, had left uncorrected certain anomalies respecting the senatorial order which, although their ancient prerogatives were abolished, still existed as a body, but without having their relative position in the new organization of the state defined or determined by any law. Some apprehension arose in consequence of this uncertainty; but the king put an end to all doubts relative to the suspension of their political functions, by repairing to the senate-house and ordering their archives to be removed and conveyed to the palace. The diet was dissolved, never more to assemble, and the principal authors of the revolution were rewarded by official appointments and lavish donations of money. Sehested was placed at the head of the finances, and received a gift of 200,000 rix-dollars. Svane was made an archbishop, and president of the consistory, with a grant of 30,000 rix-dollars. Nansen obtained the perpetual presidency of the corporation of Copenhagen, with a present of 20,000 rix-dollars. The former senators were merged in the supreme court of justice (*Højesteret*), and the administration was divided into five colleges or boards, each of

which was charged with a particular department of the public business.

In order to confirm the revolution by a more solemn sanction, a new act of homage was performed on the 15th of November, at which all the nobles of the kingdom assisted in person, with the deputies of the several towns, including those who had not been represented in the diet, and the delegates of the peasantry who had not been summoned to that assembly. Nor was this ceremony deemed sufficient; the constituents themselves were called upon to sign an instrument, circulated on purpose through Denmark and Norway, by which the nation abdicated in favour of the monarch, upon whom they expressly conferred "the absolute government and sovereignty, regalian rights, and all the *jura majestatis*, to him, his heirs and legitimate descendants, so long as any such remain in the male and female line, in faith of which we have rendered him homage as our hereditary absolute lord and sovereign." This national deed also empowered the king to fix the order of succession in the royal house by a fundamental law, which should be for ever binding on the government and the people. It formed the basis of the *Lex Regia* or constitution, which was sanctioned by Frederick in 1665, and has ever since continued to be regarded as the fundamental law of the Danish monarchy.

By its provisions, the hereditary monarchs of Denmark and Norway are declared to be absolute sovereigns, above all human laws, acknowledging no other judge or superior in affairs civil and ecclesiastical than God alone. It conferred on the king the whole legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the state. It gave him the sole and exclusive authority of making, repealing, amending, and interpreting the laws, with the right of exempting whomsoever he shall think fit from the obligation of obeying them. In addition to these, it vested in him the unlimited prerogative of appointing to all public offices and dignities; of commanding the forces of the kingdom by land and sea; of making war, and concluding treaties of peace, commerce, and alliance; the

supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, subject only to the obligation of professing the Protestant religion as expounded by the celebrated Confession of Augsburg ; of supporting it in its purity, and protecting it against all heretics, sectarians, and blasphemers. The only restriction of this absolute authority is to be found in the twenty-sixth article, by which the *Lex Regia* itself is declared to be irrevocable ; every act tending to alter it is declared null and void ; and all persons soliciting or obtaining such alterations are subjected to the penalties of high treason.

This constitutional law gave the Danish government a vigour which it never had before. By the dispensing power contained in the third article, the measure of despotism seemed to be filled up, and the people deprived of all security against its encroachments. Yet this law, though arbitrary in theory, has been greatly modified in practice by manners, usages, and institutions, which, while apparently inconsistent with the strict letter of this fundamental charter, have very much mitigated its harsh and despotic features. Lord Molesworth, who was sent to the Danish court in 1689, as envoy-extraordinary from William III. of England, reproaches the people for their levity in thus sacrificing the rights of themselves and their posterity. With that bitter spirit of sarcasm which pervades his work, he compares them to "the Cappadocians of old, who could not make use of liberty if it were offered them, but would throw it away if they had it, and resume their chains."—"The commons (he remarks) have since experienced that the little finger of an absolute prince can be heavier than the loins of many nobles ; the only comfort left them being to see their former oppressors in almost as miserable a condition as themselves ; whilst all the citizens of Copenhagen have obtained by it is the insignificant privilege of wearing swords ; so that at this day not a cobbler or barber stirs abroad without a tilter at his side, let his purse be never so empty."*

* An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692, chap. vii. Lord Molesworth's narrative is drawn from imperfect sources, and

Although Frederick III. did not abuse the arbitrary powers thus vested in him by this extraordinary revolution, the fatal effects of that measure soon manifested themselves by impoverishing the higher orders without alleviating the burdens of the lower. The noble author already quoted informs us, that previous to the year 1660 the nobility lived in great splendour and affluence. Their country houses were magnificent, and their hospitality unbounded. They resided chiefly on their estates, spending most of their revenues among their neighbours and tenants, by whom they were regarded as so many princes. At the annual convocations of the diet they met the sovereign with retinues as numerous and brilliant as his own, and frequently sat with him at the same table. Within thirty years afterwards their castles and palaces had fallen to ruin ; their lands scarcely paid the taxes imposed upon them, " which obliged them to grind the faces of the poor tenants to get an overplus for their own subsistence." Some of their estates were charged at more than the full value of the income, so that the proprietors willingly offered to surrender them to the crown, rather than pay the enormous public burdens to which they were liable. Besides being oppressed by these exorbitant exactions, they were deprived of the usual resources arising from civil or military employments at court. The lucrative and honourable posts which they formerly held were then filled by men of low birth and little education, these being always found the most obedient instruments for executing the purposes of an irresponsible monarch.

coloured by prejudice ; but though he has in many respects mistaken the true nature and causes of the revolution, he has not at all exaggerated the baseness of some of the actors in that transaction. More detailed accounts of that remarkable event are to be found in Holberg's and Baden's General Histories of Denmark ; in the Collections of Suhm and Neyrup ; in the Report of the Swedish resident Durell to Queen Christina ; in the Memoirs of the French Ambassador Terlon ; and in Spittler's History of that Revolution. To these may be added the recent excellent work of Professor J. F. W. Schlegel upon the Constitutional Law of Denmark ; the Biography of Archbishop Svane, by J. Muller, in vol. i. of his Historical Calendar, p. 229-280 ; and Williams on Northern Governments, vol. i. c. 2.

The effect of this grinding system was as injurious to trade and morals as it was destructive of wealth and independence. The merchant lodged his profits in foreign banks, rather than purchase property at home subject to unlimited taxation. The burgher chose to waste in pleasure or idle parade the fortune that might have become dangerous by gaining him the reputation of riches ; while the peasant expended his last rix-dollar in brandy to prevent its being seized by a rapacious landlord. In Zealand, this degraded class, at the time Lord Molesworth resided in Denmark, were as absolute slaves as the negroes in the British colonies, with this difference, that they were worse fed. They and their posterity were fixed to the soil where they were born,—bought and sold with the estate like the wood or the cattle upon it, and estimated as part of the stock belonging to the proprietor. Those who showed a more diligent or inventive turn than the rest, who lived better, or had acquired substance by superior industry, “ might probably be removed from a neat, pleasant, and commodious house, to a naked and uncomfortable habitation, that the landlord might increase his rent by letting the improved farm to another.”

The quartering and paying of the king's troops was another grievance to which the miserable peasantry were subjected. They were obliged also, at their own expense, and at all seasons of the year, to furnish horses and travelling wagons to the royal family, with their baggage and attendants, whenever they made a journey to any of their palaces or residences in the country. Such, in short, was the general poverty and depression in Denmark at that period, that the collectors of the poll-tax were forced, as Lord Molesworth states, to accept of old feather beds, brass and pewter pans, or household furniture, instead of money, from the once wealthy inhabitants of Kiøge, a small town which had supplied Christian IV. with the sum of 200,000 rix-dollars, upon the brief notice of twenty-four hours. The gold rings, silver spoons, plate, and other pieces of ornament which were in common use before the year 1660, and of which the

Danes are still fond, were all disposed of to supply the necessities of the crown, or the avarice of the revenue-officers.

It is recorded to the praise of Frederick III. that, so long as he lived, his uncontrolled power was exercised with mildness and forbearance. Far from alienating the affections of the nobles, it rather more strongly engaged their attachment, by putting an end to those factious discontents of which their exclusive privileges had hitherto been the unhappy source. Nor did the people, under their greatest misfortunes, ever repine at the sacrifice they had made ; conscious, as they were, that he had by his valour, perseverance, and intrepidity, saved the kingdom, and rescued it from the jaws of perdition, when it was in danger of becoming a province to Sweden.

The remaining ten years of this monarch's reign were devoted to the redress of grievances among his subjects, the re-establishment of his finances, the encouragement of industry, and the extension of commerce. In 1663 he joined the triple alliance which had been entered into by the courts of London, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, in consequence of the approaching rupture between England and Holland. The conduct of the Dutch factories established in Guinea involved him in a dispute with the United Provinces about their respective settlements on that coast ; but the affair terminated in a quadruple treaty with Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Brunswick, from which the states-general reaped this advantage, that their East India fleet found a safe retreat in the harbour of Bergen, and by this means baffled all the attempts of the English admiral, Lord Sandwich, who was despatched to the North Seas to intercept them. A misunderstanding had arisen between the Danish court and the Duke of Holstein, in consequence of the latter having concluded a treaty of amity with Sweden. Frederick was preparing to enforce his arguments by arms, when he was carried off by an affection of the lungs, caused by the fatigues he had undergone during the siege of his capital.

CHAPTER III.

*From the Accession of Christian V. to the Peace of
Nystad, A. D. 1670-1721.*

Accession of Christian V.—War with Sweden—Successes of the Danes in Pomerania—Defeat of the Swedish Fleet—Battle of Lund—Hostilities in Norway—Peace of Nimeguen—Treaty of Fontainebleau—Tranquillity of the North—Changes in the Constitution and Government in Sweden—The King made absolute—Accession of Charles XII.—Sudden Change in his Character—Hostilities with Denmark—Peace of Travendhal—Charles attacks and defeats the Russians—His Invasion of Poland—Battle of Pultusk—Subjugation of the entire Kingdom—Augustus deposed—Execution of Count Patkul—Power and Celebrity of the Swedish Hero—His Project of dethroning the Czar Peter the Great—Invasion of Russia—Difficulties and declining Fortunes of Charles—He is defeated at Pultowa, and takes Refuge in the Turkish Dominions—His Residence at Bender—His Dominions attacked—The Danes invade Scania—Intrigues of Charles at the Ottoman Court—He is expelled by Force from Bender—Loss of his German Dominions—Deplorable Condition of Sweden—Charles arrives at Stralsund—He renews the War and is besieged in Stralsund—Expedition to Norway—Intrigues of Baron de Gortz—Death and Character of Charles—Change in the Policy of Sweden—Execution of De Gortz—Proposals for Peace—Treaties of Stockholm and Nystad—New Regulations in the Government—Act called the Royal Assurance—Revival of Domestic Prosperity—Tranquillity of the North.

THE eldest son of Frederick III., who had already been declared his successor, assumed the government under the title of Christian V. Notwithstanding the prudent measures of the father, he found the kingdom involved in confusion, and the state of public affairs in a condition that presaged a reign not more pacific than the last. Happily the altercations with the Dukes of Holstein and Gottorp terminated without leading to an open

rupture. By a treaty concluded at Rendsburg (1674) the latter prince formally renounced all claim to the advantages which he had extorted during the late war, and the union between the two houses was restored on the footing established by their ancestors. It was from the ascendancy of Sweden, however, that the greatest danger was to be apprehended. Independently of the provinces she had wrested from Norway, her conquests in another quarter had greatly strengthened her frontier, by making the Sound the boundary of her dominions on the side of Denmark. These and various other reasons impressed the young king with the necessity of putting himself in a condition to curb the ambition and resist the aggressions of that powerful monarchy. With this view he caused the fortifications every where to be repaired, the cities put in a state of defence, and new fortresses to be erected in all places exposed to the inroads of those restless neighbours.

Sweden, although still under a regency, exercised considerable influence in European politics. She interposed in the war between England and Holland, and her mediation greatly contributed to the peace concluded at Breda. Charles XI. was afterwards one of the members of the triple alliance, the object of which was to secure the Netherlands against the encroachments of Louis XIV. ; though he was soon detached from that league by the intrigues of the latter monarch, in order to be a check upon the emperor. By attaching himself to France, he involved Sweden in a war with the Elector of Brandenburg. Wrangel was despatched with a force of 2000 men, and notwithstanding the brave resistance of the inhabitants, the invaders reduced most of the towns and fortresses in that province. But their career of triumph was cut short by the appearance of the elector, who took the field in person, defeated the enemy in several engagements, and compelled them to evacuate the whole of their conquests.

It was at this crisis that Denmark seized the opportunity to humble the might of her formidable rival.

Christian V. ordered war to be proclaimed by sea and land ; but as some opposition was manifested on the part of the queen and the ministry, the advantages of early decision were lost by the dilatoriness of the preparations. At the same time, the United Provinces (then at peace with England), the Duke of Luneburg, and the Bishop of Munster, all embraced the occasion of wreaking their vengeance on Sweden, whose rising power they had beheld with jealous apprehension. Russia might probably have joined in this confederacy, but for the death of the Czar Alexis. To this formidable combination, Charles XI. could only oppose the feeble aid of the Elector of Bavaria ; the French king could afford no assistance, his armies being fully occupied in Flanders and on the Rhine.

Hostilities commenced with a naval action near the port of Brunshuysen between the Swedish and Danish fleets, the latter being joined by the Dutch squadron in the Baltic. By land, operations were carried on with equal vigour, while the troops of Munster, Brandenburg, and Luneburg attacked the Swedes with success in Pomerania, and possessed themselves of Wollin, Usedom, Wolgast, and several other places. Christian and Count Koningsmarck forced the strong port of Dammgarten, and proceeded to the reduction of Wismar, which capitulated after a tedious siege, maintained with equal determination on both sides. Rebnitz surrendered on the same day (December 21) to General Arensdorff, and an attempt would have been made on the island of Rugen, but for the false intelligence of Chancellor Griffenfeldt, who had secretly opposed the Swedish war, and who pretended that Charles, with whom he held secret correspondence, designed to make a descent on Zealand. For this act of treachery the chancellor was disgraced, tried, and condemned to lose his head,—a sentence which was commuted on the scaffold to perpetual imprisonment.

The fortune of the Swedes continued to decline during the next campaign. Carlstadt surrendered early in the

summer ; and the city of Stade, which had been for some time blocked up by the troops of Luneburg, was forced to capitulate in the month of August. While these events occurred, new and more grievous disasters were sustained at sea. The celebrated Van Tromp, during the operations of the confederate army in Bremen, arrived with a Dutch squadron at Copenhagen, where he joined the Danish admiral Juel, who had succeeded in reducing the whole island of Gothland, and restoring it to the dominion of his royal master. In June the combined armament encountered the Swedish fleet off Bornholm, on the coast of Scania ; the engagement lasted for several days, when it terminated in a complete victory on the part of the allies. This success Christian followed up by ordering Van Tromp to make a descent on shore ; 3000 men were accordingly landed before Ystad, but the governor and garrison evacuated the place without offering the slightest resistance. Meantime the king embarked in person with a considerable force, and invested Helsingborg, which surrendered while preparations were making to storm the citadel. Christianstadt was taken by surprise, and Landskrona reduced after a bombardment of three weeks ; the garrison being permitted, on account of the brave defence they had made, to march out with the honours of war.

The uninterrupted progress of the Danish arms, and the factions which had begun to prevail in the senate and the regency of Sweden, induced the youthful monarch to take the reins of government into his own hands. Placing himself at the head of his troops, he marched into Scania with a view to repel the invaders ; but his force proving too weak, he was constrained to abandon the attempt, and leave that fine province to be wasted by the enemy. Far from being discouraged, Charles prosecuted his design with increased ardour, and at length succeeded in turning the scale of fortune by defeating the Danish general Duncamp, whom Christian had despatched to invest Halmstadt. In addition

to this victory, the Swedes seized thirty vessels laden with provisions for the enemy, who had laid siege to Gottenborg, but were forced to relinquish the enterprise in consequence of the abrupt departure of Admiral Royster for Copenhagen, under pretext of defending it against some English ships which had made their appearance off the harbour.

Mortified at these losses, Christian determined to push his operations against the enemy with the utmost diligence. On the plain of Lund the two armies, commanded by their respective sovereigns, encountered each other in a pitched battle, which was maintained with great obstinacy until night separated the combatants. Both parties claimed the victory; but as Christian immediately returned to Copenhagen for additional levies, whilst the Swedes relieved Malmo, the latter may be considered as having the advantage on their side. Following up their success, they reduced Helsingborg, obliged Christianshaven to capitulate, and took possession of Christianstadt in presence of the Danish army, amounting to 12,000 men, commanded by the king in person. Near Landscrona, the two monarchs had another opportunity of contesting the palm of military glory at the head of their troops. The Danes were greatly inferior in point of numbers, but they fought with determined bravery. Both princes signalized their valour, seeming to rival each other in daring heroism. Charles fearlessly exposed himself in the hottest of the combat, and Christian, with his own hand, killed several Swedish officers who had successively attempted to make him prisoner. The action was prolonged with equal courage, until fatigue, joined to the excessive heat of the sun, obliged both parties to retire to their camps; the Swedes carrying with them the reputation of victory and a few pieces of the enemy's cannon. These losses of the Danes were in some measure compensated by the success of their arms in another quarter; Admiral Juel having defeated a small squadron of the enemy that lay at Gottenborg, and another near the isle of Moen,

just before Van Tromp with an auxiliary force made his appearance to claim a share in the victory.

The same bad fortune attended the progress of the Swedish arms in Pomerania, the defence of which province was intrusted to Count Koningsmarck. At first that general had gained a variety of important advantages, but they were soon obliterated by a series of losses and reverses, which left only Stettin, Stralsund, and Griefswald in his possession. These places, too, were afterwards wrested from him by the Elector of Brandenburg; and to complete the measure of his adversities, the fleet which transported his army to Sweden was shipwrecked in the night, on the coast of Bornholm, where nearly 2000 men perished in the waves; those who escaped a watery grave were pillaged and taken captive by the Danes.

The operations of the war in the mean time had extended westward into Norway, where the viceroy, Count Guldenlew, had taken possession of some fortified towns, and made an attempt to recover Jamtland, which had been wrested from Denmark at the peace of Copenhagen. The hardihood and energy which the Danes evinced in this expedition, by marching over rocks and mountains and through pathless woods, were altogether astonishing. At Uddevalla they were encountered by the Swedish army, ten thousand strong; here a battle ensued (Sept. 7, 1677), in which the combatants fought sword in hand, the incessant rains having rendered their fire-arms quite unfit for use. The Swedes at the onset gave the enemy a warm reception, but their resistance was of short duration; their line was thrown into disorder; the infantry sustained a total overthrow, with a severe loss in killed and prisoners; the cavalry alone escaped, owing their safety to the fleetness of their horses. The whole of the artillery was taken, together with a vast number of standards, colours, and other military trophies. To aggravate these disasters, several advantages were gained by the Danish fleet under Van Tromp, who made a descent on

the islands of Oland, Smaland, Uno, and Kuno, where he burnt Westervik, pillaged several villages, and carried off spoil to a considerable amount. Rugen was taken and retaken several times, but the gallantry of Admiral Juel at length secured it in possession of the Danes.

During these military operations, propositions had been made for re-establishing the tranquillity of the North. Ambassadors from the several contending powers had assembled at Nimeguen, two years before the conclusion of the war; but the conflicting demands of the negotiating parties threw so many obstructions in the way, that no common terms could be agreed upon as the basis of a general pacification. Necessity at length effected that reconciliation which self-interest and the desire of conquest had so long retarded. The Dutch, anxious to put an end to a contest which had proved so ruinous to their interests, concluded a separate treaty with France. Spain followed the example of Holland; and as the emperor had already come to pacific terms with Louis XIV., Christian and his allies, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Bishop of Munster, were ultimately compelled to accept such conditions as the enemy might dictate. Directions were accordingly given to sign a peace upon the terms proposed by Louis, that the Swedes should be put in possession of all they retained at the commencement of the war.

By this treaty, which was concluded at Fontainebleau (Sept. 2, 1679), between the three crowns of France, Denmark, and Sweden, Charles, after a series of losses and defeats, found means to extricate himself with honour from a quarrel begun in his childhood, and obstinately maintained since his accession to the throne, against a combination of the most formidable powers of Christendom. On the other hand, Christian, after prodigious exertions, in which his courage and his conduct were equally conspicuous, was forced, through an unhappy coincidence of events, to retire from the scene of action deprived of every advantage, and disappointed in all those views which had been the primary cause of his.

embarking in the quarrel. In addition to the peace of Fontainebleau, a separate treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was executed at Lund between the ambassadors of Denmark and Sweden in presence of the French minister. Finally, to cement this amicable connexion still more closely, a matrimonial union was effected between his Swedish majesty and the Danish princess Ulrica Eleanora.

One or two events, however, threatened to disturb the tranquillity of the North. Under pretext of certain claims upon the city of Hamburg, Christian advanced with a numerous army, and made preparations for a regular siege; intrenchments were formed and batteries erected, but the remonstrances of France, and the prompt interposition of the House of Brunswick, had the effect of terminating the dispute without the effusion of blood. By a sort of provisional treaty, the magistrates agreed to pay his Danish majesty the sum of 220,000 crowns, on condition that he sheathed the sword, renounced his pretensions to certain territories, and restored the shipping and merchandise which he had ordered to be seized.

An alliance contracted between the Danish monarch and the Elector of Brandenburg, for the protection of their mutual interests, gave umbrage to the United Provinces, who suspected in it some latent design to disturb or obstruct their foreign commerce. Their alarm was still farther increased by a royal ordinance, issued in 1686, prohibiting the exportation of certain articles of traffic, and raising the duties on Dutch shipping passing the Sound. Measures for accommodation, however, were immediately taken by their ambassador at Copenhagen, and thus the gathering storm was happily dispersed without interrupting the repose of Europe. Some trivial differences on mercantile matters occurred with France and Sweden, but instead of generating hostilities, they led to the conclusion of fresh treaties, and the establishment of a closer connexion between these kingdoms. Finally, the long-pending controversy respecting the affairs of the duchy of Holstein, of which his Danish

majesty still claimed the sovereignty, was at length adjusted by the convention of Altona (June 20, 1689), under the mediation of England and Brandenburg. By that compact a general amnesty was agreed upon, and a lasting union begun between the ducal and the royal court. Christian restored to the duke all the dominions and prerogatives which he enjoyed or could claim from the late treaties ; whilst his Highness, on the other hand, renounced all pretensions and actions against his majesty for the damage he had sustained by the withholding of his possessions, and the levying of taxes from his subjects. In this amicable manner terminated those feuds which for years had been the source of jealousies and contentions, and had proved the immediate cause of the recent war with Sweden. During the remainder of his reign, the attention of this great monarch was chiefly occupied with the internal affairs of his dominions, and the preservation of peace with the neighbouring states. He expired at the early age of 54, on the 4th day of September 1699, bequeathing to posterity a reputation for wisdom, courage, and military talent, which his countrymen, even in modern times, contemplate with feelings of pride and admiration.*

In Sweden, Charles took advantage of the restoration of tranquillity to introduce various important changes in the government and institutions of the kingdom. An assembly of the states was convoked at Stockholm (1680) for the purpose of reviewing the general condition of the country, of reforming those abuses which had crept into the administration, and for adjusting the burdens and imposts to which the people had been subjected in consequence of a tedious war. At the same time, it was resolved to maintain its warlike defences, by keeping up the army and marine on the footing established in 1669 ; and for the support of the land-forces, a tax was to be levied on the peasants and certain public bodies. The compliance of the estates with these demands was

* Modern Universal History, vol. xii. p. 203.

probably effected by the presence of some regiments of guards which Charles had quartered in the city, and by the removal of such of the nobles as might be expected to offer the most formidable opposition.

These precautions served also to aid the design he was alleged to have formed of augmenting the royal authority, and humbling the arrogance of the senate, who had been charged by Baron Gyldenstiern and the other ministers, as the cause of the difficulties under which the government laboured. With this view, an accusation was lodged against those who had conducted the administration during the king's minority; as to them were attributed all the losses and calamities which had befallen the country, and for which they were declared to be responsible. The senators were next charged with having abused their privileges; and a committee was appointed by the diet, to examine whether the powers they had assumed were perfectly constitutional, and conformable to the statutes of the realm. The result of the investigation was, that they did not form a separate or intermediate order between the crown and the state, but ought to be held simply as a council with whom his majesty might consult and advise. By this decision, the sovereign was still bound to govern with the advice of his senate; but Charles rendered himself in a great degree independent of their admonitions, by declaring himself judge of what affairs ought or ought not to be communicated to them; thus virtually retaining in his own hands the power of consulting them on such matters only as he deemed proper.

In consequence of these changes, a new official board was appointed, called the Grand Commission, whose right it was to inquire into all transactions of the ministry, and to punish the excesses and usurpations of the senators. A college of provision was also established for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of lands and lordships granted, sold, mortgaged, or exchanged, by preceding kings, either in Sweden or Livonia, since the year 1609, together with all the royal palaces alienated

since 1655. An offer was at the same time made on the part of the crown, to reimburse the proprietors for such sums as they had originally paid for them. By this proceeding a considerable augmentation was made to the royal revenues, but it ruined vast numbers of the nobility. The clergy likewise evinced their willingness to contribute towards the necessities of the government, by offering a fifth of their income to the king, provided they might pay it in kine or brass money.

The states were again convoked in 1681, contrary to the usual practice of their meeting, except on extraordinary occasions, only once in four years. This diet went even farther in their concessions than the preceding ; declaring by statute, that although the sovereign was enjoined to govern his dominions according to the laws, this did not take from him the power to alter that constitution of his own authority, or to put the kingdom in such a situation as he might think most conducive to its interest and security. The authors of this decision, which rendered the monarch absolute, were the deputies of the burghers and peasants, who overlooked all consequences in their blind zeal to oppose the aristocracy, and bring them down to their own level.

Another blow was struck at this doomed order in 1686, by the extraordinary expedient which the government resorted to, of liquidating the public debt by raising the nominal value of money without increasing its real worth. The effect of this single transaction was the ruin of thousands, as the state creditors lost by it above nine millions of crowns. These, with a variety of other new measures, so disgusted and irritated the nobility, that they sent repeated petitions to court, insisting upon their ancient privileges being respected. Seeing no prospect of redress, they drew up a still stronger remonstrance, which was to be presented to the king by Captain Patkul, a gentleman of Livonia, and one of their deputies, who had already distinguished himself by his bold freedom of speech, and his ardent attachment to liberty. The attempt was unsuccessful, and excited

resentment instead of procuring relief. An accusation was drawn up against the whole of the remonstrants, all of whom were convicted of high treason, but the chief victim selected for ignominious punishment was Patkul, who was sentenced to have his right hand cut off, and to be deprived of his life, honours, and estates. The University of Leipsic formally declared their opinion that the condemnation was unjust; but neither he nor his colleagues could avail themselves of that decision; he contrived, however, to elude the vengeance of his enemies for a time, by abandoning his native country, and taking refuge at the court of Poland.

The violence of parties having thus thrown down every barrier that could check the unlimited exercise of the royal prerogative, an act was at length passed in 1693, by which the king was made absolute, the sole depository of the sovereign authority, and entitled to govern the realm according to his will and pleasure, without being responsible to any power on earth.* The concluding period of this monarch's reign was spent in endeavouring to establish the peace of Europe, and in regulating the political and commercial affairs of his own subjects. To his mediation was owing, in a great degree, the congress at Ryswick, which terminated the war between France on the one side, and Austria, Spain, Holland, and England, on the other; but his pacific labours were suddenly arrested by a disorder which cut him off (April 1697) at the early age of forty-two.

His son and successor, Charles XII., the illustrious hero of the North (born 1682), was a minor at the time of his father's death, and having lost his mother in 1693,

* An Account of Sweden as it was in 1688, c. 8., ed. London, 1738. Contin. of Puffendorff, lib. vii. Sheridan's Hist. of the late Revol. in Sweden, p. 127-132. Whitelock, who was English ambassador at Stockholm in the reign of Christina, says, that at that time the peasants and burghers were so completely the slaves of the aristocracy, that they hardly dared to contest with them upon a matter of right or title, but were obliged to submit to their will. It is a remarkable fact, that both in Denmark and Sweden the establishment of despotism by law was the act of the people, stimulated by a hatred of the nobles.

he was confided to the tuition of the queen-dowager, who had also conducted the administration of affairs during the late king's minority. With her were conjoined five senators in the regency; and although at an advanced period of life, she indulged the pleasing hope of long retaining possession of the supreme power. The young prince, from his very childhood, evinced those warlike dispositions which have made his name so renowned in the military history of the world.

At his father's decease he had nearly completed his fifteenth year,—the period at which, by the law of Sweden, kings attained their majority; but Charles XI., by his last will, had fixed the expiry of his tutelage at eighteen, chiefly to gratify the political views of the dowager queen. Six months, however, had scarcely elapsed, when he imparted to two of his confidential advisers, Counts Piper and Axel Sparre, his resolution to take the reins of administration into his own hands. The counsellors of the regency were easily drawn into the scheme; the queen expressed her surprise at the startling proposal to abdicate, but did not venture to refuse her consent; the states were unanimous in their approval; and in three days a complete revolution in the government was effected, by setting aside the testamentary arrangements of the late king, and transferring to Charles the whole functions and prerogatives of absolute sovereignty. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by the Archbishop of Upsala; and it is worthy of remark, that the prince, after being anointed, snatched the crown from the prelate with a stern air, and placed it on his own head.

At his accession to the throne, his dominions comprehended not only Sweden and Finland, but also Livonia, Carelia, and Ingria; the towns of Wismar and Viborg; the islands of Rugen and Oesel; the duchy of Bremen, and Verden; together with the finest part of Pomerania. All of these extensive foreign territories, conquered by the valour of his ancestors, had been secured to the crown by long possession, and by the treaties of Munster and Oliva, as well as that of Ryswick, to which he was

himself a party, by having finished those pacific negotiations that were begun under the auspices of his father. The commanding position which he occupied, and the absolute powers with which he was vested, instead of contributing to the good of his country, became the unhappy means of involving Sweden in an abyss of troubles, and bringing her down from that lofty rank which she had held in the political system of Europe since the days of Gustavus Adolphus.

Taking advantage of his extreme youth, three powerful neighbouring princes, anxious to recover those possessions torn from them by his predecessors, conspired his ruin almost at the same time. These aggressors were Frederick IV. of Denmark, who had been proclaimed immediately on the death of his father; Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded (1696) the famous Sobieski on the throne of Poland; and the Czar Peter the Great, whom the defeat of the Turks and the peace of Carlowitz had left at leisure to prosecute his schemes of conquest and commerce in the North.

The design of Augustus, instigated by the fugitive Patkul, was to regain Livonia; and the Czar, wishing to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia, wanted a port on the eastern side of the Baltic, for which purpose the province of Ingria appeared exceedingly convenient. The better to accomplish their plans they entered into a negotiation with the King of Denmark, the result of which was a secret and offensive alliance between these three powers against an inexperienced youth, hitherto distinguished only for the gayety of his dress and his passion for field-sports. Regardless of the treaty of Altona, Frederick IV. revived the disputes with the Duke of Holstein in a spirit of increased bitterness; and as that prince had married the eldest sister of Charles XII., he repaired to Stockholm with his consort to implore assistance.

The intelligence of these formidable preparations struck the Swedish council with dismay; but their apprehensions were in some measure abated by the spirited conduct of the young monarch. "My resolu-

tion is fixed," said he ; " I will attack the first that shall declare against me ; and having conquered him, I hope I shall be able to strike terror into the rest." This sudden change in the character of a prince who had hitherto given no very favourable impression of his talents, inspired his subjects at once with confidence and admiration. Nor were their hopes disappointed ; the occasion that now called forth his latent genius for war, beheld him at the same time assume a new course of life. His amusements were laid aside ; his table was reduced to the most rigid frugality ; and his costly apparel exchanged for the dress of a common soldier.

Hostilities broke out almost simultaneously in course of the year 1700. The Danes fell upon Sleswig ; the King of Poland invested Riga, the capital of Livonia ; whilst the czar, with 80,000 men, made a descent upon Ingria, and laid siege to Narva. Attacked by so many foes at once, Charles directed his first efforts against Denmark, where the danger appeared to him most pressing.

While the Duke of Holstein remained at Stockholm, his dominions were ravaged, the castle of Gottorp taken, and the city of Tönningen besieged by Frederick. To counteract these operations, Charles immediately despatched a body of 8000 troops into the bordering province of Pomerania, to support his brother-in-law ; and, in the mean time, having renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland, the two guarantees of the treaty of Altona, a combined squadron made its appearance in the Baltic, and an additional reinforcement was also obtained by the arrival of several Dutch and Hanoverian regiments. On the 8th of May he set out on his first campaign, amidst the tears and prayers of innumerable spectators, who attended him from the capital, which he never again beheld, to the port of Carls-crona, where he embarked with a fleet of forty-three vessels, and in a short time joined the squadron of the allies at the mouth of the Sound. Before his departure he made every necessary arrangement for the administration of public affairs, and appointed an extraordinary council, chosen from the senate, to take charge of what-

ever concerned the navy, the army, and the fortifications of the country.

Had the Danes been disposed for a naval action, they might have encountered the enemy in the Strait ; but they declined the combat, and retired under the guns of Copenhagen, followed by the allied squadron, which approached so near as to throw bombs into the city. The enterprising spirit of Charles suggested the bold attempt of finishing the war at a single blow. He proposed to General Renschild to besiege the capital by land, while the fleet blocked it up by sea. The plan appeared admirable, and preparations were instantly made for carrying it into execution, the king himself setting the example by being the first to reach the shore. The Swedes effected their landing amidst a shower of musketry ; and attacking the Danes in their lines, threw horse and foot into disorder, and took possession of the trenches after a feeble resistance. Meanwhile a reinforcement of 9000 men landed from Scania, and every thing conspired to favour the operations of the besiegers. The inhabitants, struck with terror and unable to defend themselves, sent a deputation to Charles, beseeching him not to bombard the city. He received the messengers on horseback at the head of his guards, and consented to grant their request on their paying 400,000 rix-dollars, and supplying his camp with provisions at the ordinary price.

The situation of Frederick, then in Holstein, was full of peril and anxiety. He saw the Baltic covered with the enemy's fleet, the Swedes already masters of Zealand, and on the point of seizing his capital. He attempted to rouse the spirit of the nation by promising liberty to all who should take up arms against the invaders ; but the imminence of the danger rendered this appeal ineffectual. In these embarrassing circumstances he was compelled to sue for peace ; the impetuous conqueror having left him no alternative but that of doing justice to his kinsman, or seeing Copenhagen laid in ruins, and the whole kingdom ravaged with fire and sword. Under

the mediation of England and France, a congress was held at the town of Travendhal, and in the short space of eleven days a treaty was concluded (August 5), to the advantage of the Duke of Holstein, who was not only delivered from oppression, but indemnified for the expenses of the war. Thus did Charles by his vigorous conduct humble a powerful adversary in a campaign of six weeks, and render his name, at the age of eighteen, the terror of the North, and the admiration of all Europe.

Having thus achieved the submission of Denmark, the youthful hero immediately turned his arms against the Russians, whose operations before Narva were more formidable than those of Augustus and the Poles in Livonia. The czar had commenced the siege in October, but his progress was greatly retarded by the rude and undisciplined state of his troops, whose principal weapons were clubs and arrows. The town was but indifferently fortified, and the small garrison scarcely contained 1000 soldiers; yet for ten weeks it withstood the whole Muscovite army, with a train of 150 pieces of cannon.

In November the king of Sweden advanced to relieve the place, and landed with his forces at Pernau on the Gulf of Riga. The czar, having immensely the advantage in point of numbers, had thrown every possible obstruction in his way; but the bold and rapid movements of Charles baffled all his stratagems, and in two days he appeared before the city of Narva, having already gained three victories, which did not retard his march a single hour. Without hesitation, and scarcely allowing his weary troops a moment's repose, he resolved to attack the Muscovites in their intrenchments, which were strongly fortified, and defended by a force ten times more numerous than his own. In three hours the camp was forced on all sides; the Russians were panic-struck, and a fleeing army of 40,000 men was pursued towards the river by the king with a handful of his victorious Swedes. The bridge yielded under their weight, and the stream was instantly covered with the dead bodies of the fugitives.

The czar was not present at this disastrous battle ; he had left the camp, perhaps fortunately for his personal safety, in order to hasten the approach of a reinforcement of 40,000 men. Moscow, then the Russian capital, was in a state of the utmost consternation ; the illiterate inhabitants, with those superstitious notions common to all savages, imagined the Swedes to be magicians and sorcerers, since they could not account for a victory gained over such disparity of strength except by the arts of witchcraft, or some power more than human. So general was this opinion, that a form of public prayer or litany was ordered to be read in the churches, imploring the patron of Muscovy, St Nicholas, to be their champion in future, and to drive the troop of Northern wizards away from their frontiers.

Whilst Peter, abandoning all the provinces he had invaded, retreated to his own dominions, and employed himself in training his undisciplined serfs, Charles prepared to take the field against his only remaining adversary, the King of Poland. Leaving Narva, where he passed the winter, he entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, the very place which the Poles and Saxons had in vain besieged. Dreading the storm that now approached, Augustus had entered into a closer alliance with the czar ; and at an interview which took place at Birsén, a small town in Lithuania, it was agreed that each should furnish the other with a body of 50,000 mercenaries, to be paid by Russia. This compact, had it been carried into execution, might have proved fatal to the independence of Sweden, perhaps to the liberties of Europe, by teaching the hordes of Muscovy that art by which so many conquerors have enslaved mankind. But the good fortune of Charles was again triumphant, and with the aid of Count Piper, he succeeded in depriving his enemies of the advantages they expected to reap from this formidable treaty.

The Saxon army, having failed in their attempt on Riga, endeavoured to prevent the Swedes from crossing the Dwina ; but the passage was effected under cover of

a thick cloud of smoke from the burning of wet straw, and by means of large boats with high wooden parapets along the sides, to protect the soldiers from the fire of the enemy, who were driven from their intrenchments with the loss of 2000 killed and 1500 prisoners. Charles immediately advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland, the garrison of which, with all the other towns and forts in the duchy, surrendered at discretion. He next passed into Lithuania, conquering wherever he came, and driving 20,000 Russians before him with the utmost precipitation. On reaching Birsén, it gave him no little satisfaction, as he himself confessed, to enter in triumph the very town where, only a few months before, Augustus and the czar had plotted his destruction.

It was here that he formed the daring project of de-throning the King of Poland by means of his own subjects, whose notions of liberty could not tolerate the measures of a despotic government. This bold scheme originated in a feeling of vindictive retaliation, and it was prosecuted with fatal success. His Polish majesty attempted to negotiate a private treaty, but instead of listening to terms, the stern warrior declared that he would settle all disputes at Warsaw. His march was accordingly directed towards that capital, which he entered without resistance, the king and the nobility having abandoned it with the utmost precipitation. The fate of Augustus, already desperate, was here consummated by the treachery of the primate Radziewiski, who caused it to be immediately notified to all the palatines, that no alternative remained but to submit to the will of the conqueror.

The deserted monarch resolved to defend his crown by force of arms; the two kings met near Clissau (July 13, 1702), where after a bloody battle fortune again declared for the Swedes. Charles halted not a moment on the field of victory, but marched rapidly to Cracow in pursuit of his antagonist. That city was taken without firing a shot, and taxed with a contribution of 100,000 rix-dollars. The fugitive prince

obtained an unexpected respite of six weeks, his indefatigable rival having had his thigh-bone fractured by an accidental fall from his horse. The interval was spent in hostile preparations, but the recovery of Charles overturned all the schemes of his enemies, and the decisive battle of Pultusk (May 1, 1703) completed the humiliation of the unfortunate Augustus. At the instigation of the faithless cardinal, the diet at Warsaw declared (February 14, 1704) that the Elector of Saxony was incapable of wearing the crown, which was soon after bestowed on Stanislaus Leczinski, the young palatine of Posnania. Count Piper strongly urged his royal master to assume the sovereignty himself, which could have been easily accomplished at the head of a victorious army; he tempted him with the flattering title of "Defender of the Evangelical Religion," and set before him the glory of changing the national creed of Poland by substituting the Lutheran doctrines, as Gustavus Wasa had done in Sweden. But the splendours of a diadem had few charms in the eyes of a conqueror who confessed that he felt much more pleasure in bestowing thrones upon others than in winning them for himself.

Having thus succeeded in his favourite project, Charles resumed his march to complete the entire conquest of the kingdom. Every where had fortune crowned the bold expeditions of this adventurous prince. Whilst his generals and armies were pursuing their career from province to province, he had himself opened a passage for his victorious troops into Saxony and the imperial dominions. His ships, now masters of the Baltic, were employed in transporting to Sweden the prisoners taken in the wars. Denmark, bound up by the treaty of Travendhal, was prevented from offering any active interference; the Russians were kept in check towards the east by a detachment of 30,000 Swedes; so that the whole region was kept in awe by the sword of the conqueror, from the German Ocean almost to the mouth of the Borysthenes, and even to the gates of Moscow.

The Czar Peter in the mean time, having carried Narva by assault, and captured several towns and fortresses in Livonia, held a conference with Augustus at Grodno, where the two sovereigns concerted their plans for attacking the Scandinavian invaders in their new conquests, with a combined army of 60,000 men, under Prince Menzikoff and General Schullemburg.

Had the fate of the contest depended on numerical superiority alone, Charles must have been crushed before the overwhelming power of his enemies ; but his courage and good fortune prevailed over every disadvantage. The scattered hordes of Muscovy were overthrown with so great celerity, that one detachment after another was routed before they learned the defeat of their companions. Schullemburg, with all his experience and reputation, was not more successful, having been completely beaten by Renschild, the Parmenio of the northern Alexander, in a sanguinary action (Feb. 12, 1706), at the small town of Travenstadt, near Punitz, a place already fatal to the cause of Augustus. Such was the panic inspired by the fame of the victors, that 7000 loaded muskets were gathered on the field, which the fugitives had cast away in the hurry and confusion of their retreat. The quantity of arms and spoil that fell into the hands of the Swedes was immense ; but Renschild tarnished the lustre of his triumph, by causing nearly a thousand of the prisoners to be massacred in cold blood, to revenge the barbarities which the Muscovites had committed in Poland. The czar and his ally thus beheld their formidable armies dispersed and almost annihilated in less than two months.

The reduction of Saxony, which Charles next invaded, obliged Augustus to implore peace on any terms. The conditions exacted by the victor were, that he should renounce for ever the crown of Poland ; acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful king ; and dissolve his treaty of alliance with Russia. The inflexible temper of Charles was not likely to mitigate the severity of these demands, but their rigour was increased in consequence of the

defeat of General Meyerfeld, near Kalisch, by Prince Menzikoff—the first advantage which the Muscovites had gained over the Swedes in a pitched battle. As a last alternative, Augustus resolved on a personal interview, in the hope that his presence might soften the heart of his inexorable adversary. The two monarchs met, for the first time, in the Swedish camp at Guntersdorff. Charles was in his usual homely garb,—a coarse blue coat, with gilt brass buttons, buckskin gloves that reached to the elbows, and a piece of black taffety tied round his neck instead of a cravat. Not a syllable was uttered on the subject of the journey; the conversation turned wholly upon the king's jack-boots, which he told his royal guest he had worn constantly for six years, never laying them aside except when he went to sleep. Every mark of outward respect was paid to the ex-sovereign, but he could obtain no mitigation of the severe mandate that stript him of his crown.

All that now remained to complete the barbarous triumph of Charles, was to inflict the last penalty of the law upon the fugitive Patkul, who had as yet contrived to elude his vengeance, and at that time held the office of envoy to the czar at the court of Saxony. The unfortunate nobleman was condemned to be broken alive on the wheel,—a sentence which was executed with the utmost rigour. The alleged crime for which he suffered was, that he had taken up arms against his sovereign; but the circumstances in which he was placed rendered his guilt at least equivocal, and ought to have saved him from the doom of a common traitor. His fate left a dark stain on the reputation of his persecutor, who scrupled not to gratify his private resentment at the expense of justice and humanity. The Swedes may have considered him a rebel, and the Livonians a martyr; but all agreed, that in the character of an ambassador, his person ought to have been held inviolable.

The numerous victories of Charles, and the arbitrary manner in which he had deposed the King of Poland, filled all Europe with astonishment. Some states enter-

tained apprehensions of his power, while others prepared to solicit his friendship. France, harassed by expensive wars in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, courted his alliance with an ardour proportioned to the distressing state of her affairs. Offended at the declaration issued against him by the diet of Ratisbon, and resenting an indignity offered to Baron de Stralheim, his envoy at Vienna, he magnified these trivial affronts into an occasion of quarrelling with the emperor, who was obliged to succumb, and among other mortifying concessions, to grant his Lutheran subjects in Silesia the free exercise of their religious liberties as secured by the treaties of Westphalia. This haughty interference on the part of his Scandinavian majesty, who declared himself protector of the reformed interests in Germany, he did not consider it prudent or safe to resent; and accordingly upwards of a hundred churches were restored to the Protestants, only to be taken from them when fortune deserted the arms of the conqueror.

Queen Anne of England, then in alliance with the Austrian government in the confederacy against France, apprehensive that this interposition of Charles might have an unfavourable effect on the war in the Netherlands, ordered the celebrated Marlborough to repair to Saxony, and endeavour to divert his mind from the project he was supposed to entertain of espousing the declining cause of Louis XIV. The great duke found the hero of the North in his camp at Altranstadt, and paid some elegant compliments to his unrivalled military talents. The language of adulation was thrown away upon the warrior-king; and the only emotion he seemed to feel was that of surprise at the costly dress and polished air of the illustrious soldier. The cautious envoy discovered, without making any formal proposals, that his Swedish majesty was much more concerned about dethroning the czar than rallying the desperate fortunes of the French. A map of Russia lay open on the table before him, and his eye was observed to kindle with rapture whenever the name of the emperor was mentioned.

Satisfied by these indications that no plan had been concerted for aiding Louis, Marlborough quitted Saxony, and left Charles to pursue his favourite scheme of imposing a new sovereign on Muscovy.

The ambitious prince was now in the zenith of his glory; he had experienced no reverse, nor met with any interruption to his victories. The romantic extravagance of his views increased with his success. One year, he thought, would suffice for the conquest of Russia. The court of Rome was next to feel his vengeance, as the pope had dared to oppose the concession of religious liberty to the Silesian Protestants. No enterprise at that time appeared impossible to him. He had even despatched several officers privately into Asia and Egypt, to take plans of the towns, and examine into the strength and resources of those countries. But his career met with a sudden check, which dissipated all his visions of oriental conquest.

The project of deposing the czar was the first that he prepared to execute. In September 1707 he took leave of Saxony, where he had remained a whole year inactive, without being touched by the pleasures or luxuries of that fertile country. "He mounted his horse thrice a-day, rose at four in the morning, dressed himself with his own hands, drank no wine, sat at table only a quarter of an hour, exercised his troops every day, and knew no other pleasure but that of making Europe tremble." The army that accompanied him was composed of 43,000 men,—the best disciplined troops in the world; confident of success, and so enriched with the spoils of war, that each soldier had fifty crowns in his purse, and his accoutrements shining with gold and silver. Besides this force, he had another of 20,000 awaiting him in Poland, under Stanislaus and Count Levenhaupt, one of his best generals. A detachment of 15,000 was stationed in Finland, while fresh recruits were daily expected from Sweden. Not one individual was made aware of the object or the destination of this expedition; the only opinion of it they had, being a conjecture that the king intended to proceed to Moscow.

The czar, in the mean time, had not been an idle spectator of the progress of the Swedish conqueror. Taking advantage of the absence of Stanislaus with the greater part of the army, he entered Poland at the head of 60,000 men, got possession of several towns, and wasted the kingdom before Levenhaupt could collect his detachments, or offer any resistance. But the return of the king from Saxony put a check to these disorders, and compelled the czar to retire into Lithuania. From that province he was soon driven by the approach of Charles, who pursued the fleeing Russians across the whole country eastward from Grodno to the Dnieper, through a region covered with morasses, immense forests, and barren deserts, where the scanty stock of provisions was either destroyed by the enemy, or buried under ground, and could only be discovered by thrusting into the earth long poles shod with iron.

On reaching the Berezina, he found that the Muscovites had made preparations to dispute his passage ; but the attempt was vain, and they continued their retreat beyond the Dnieper without daring to hazard an engagement. Driven within his own dominions, and followed closely by an indefatigable antagonist, the czar offered terms of peace. "I will treat at Moscow" was the laconic reply which the adventurous Swede gave to the bearer of the proposals. "My brother Charles," said Peter, "affects to play Alexander, but he will not find in me another Darius." Every day, until within a hundred leagues from Moscow, there was severe skirmishing between the two armies, generally to the advantage of the pursuers. In an obstinate encounter near Smolensko, Charles had his horse shot, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, after having killed twelve men with his own hand. The Muscovites had it now in their power to check the career of the invaders by breaking up the roads and desolating the country.

Exposed at once to the severity of winter, the risk of famine, and the incessant attacks of the enemy, the Swedish monarch found it impracticable to continue his

march in the direction of the Russian capital ; but instead of falling back upon Poland, he adopted the extraordinary resolution of passing through the Ukraine, trusting to the promised aid of Mazeppa, chief of the Cossacks, and without waiting for Levenhaupt, who was advancing with a large body of fresh troops. A journey of twelve days, amidst incredible and unparalleled hardships, brought the wearied and half-famished Swedes to the Desna, the place where they expected to meet their new ally with a body of 30,000 men. Their disappointment and dismay may easily be imagined when, instead of finding reinforcements and supplies, they beheld the opposite bank of the river covered with a hostile army of 8000 Russians. The passage, nevertheless, was effected, and the enemy put to flight, leaving the victors to pursue their march. The unfortunate Mazeppa soon made his appearance with a remnant of 6000 Cossacks, being all that had escaped the swords of the Muscovites.

Levenhaupt, who had received orders to join the king with his whole force, was reduced to a condition nearly as defenceless as his master. After surmounting all the complicated difficulties which an overwhelming host of foes, a wild country, and an inclement season, could throw in his way, he succeeded in reaching the Desna, without ammunition or an army, but with the honour of having sustained six separate actions in three successive days, and killed nearly 30,000 of the czar's best troops.

Fortune seemed now tired of abetting the impracticable schemes of a rash monarch on whom she had vainly lavished so many favours. Surrounded as he was with accumulating dangers, and cut off from all possibility of supplies from Sweden, his imagination still brooded over the romantic idea of entering in triumph the Russian capital, the spoils of which would compensate his army for all their fatigues and privations. The winter (1709) was one of the severest ever known in those climes, yet the hardy Swedes, without shoes, or any covering but the skins of wild beasts, continued their march ; nor did the iron heart of their king relent

when in one day he beheld two thousand soldiers drop dead before him, from the effects of cold and hunger.

With the miserable remnant of the numerous and flourishing army that had quitted Saxony, he at length penetrated to the town of Pultowa, in the hope of seizing the magazines of the czar, and opening a passage to the gates of Moscow. It was near this memorable spot that the fate of the Swedish conqueror was decided. The place was immediately invested, and while the siege was pressed with great vigour, the emperor made his appearance at the head of 70,000 troops. The invaders gave battle (July 8), but neither courage nor discipline could avail against the overwhelming numbers of their antagonists.

Unable to walk, owing to a wound he had received in the heel while viewing the operations of the siege, Charles rode about in a litter, with a pistol in one hand and his drawn sword in the other. A cannon-ball killed both the horses that drew it; and scarcely were two others yoked, when a second discharge from the Russian artillery broke the carriage to pieces and overturned the king himself. The soldiers believing him to be slain, fell back in consternation; to restore order was impossible; and the fortune of the day was at length determined against them, by intercepting their communication with the camp at Pultowa. The intrenchments before the town were at length stormed; General Renschild, Count Piper, the Prince of Wirtemberg, and most of the principal officers, were made prisoners; confusion reigned every where, and no one could learn tidings of another amidst the clouds of smoke and dust that covered the plain. The victors seized, among other booty, the royal military chest, stored with the spoils of Poland and Saxony. The slain amounted to 9000 Swedes and Cossacks; 6000 fell into the hands of the enemy; the remainder conducted by Levenhaupt fled towards the Dnieper, but were compelled to surrender to Prince Menzikoff, who had tracked the route of the miserable fugitives by the lifeless carcasses that strewed the way.

Thus did Charles, in one day, lose the fruits of nearly a hundred victories, and nine years of successful warfare. The veteran army, which had spread terror over Europe, was annihilated, one half by famine and fatigue, and the other by a barbarous foe whom they had hitherto despised. He himself must have been taken prisoner but for the intrepidity of Count Poniatowski, who drew together 500 horsemen, and surrounding the royal person, they cut their way through ten regiments of the enemy. Reduced to a destitute wanderer, he was glad to make his escape in a wretched calash, attended by a small group of followers.* Having crossed the Dnieper in a little bark, they travelled, some on foot, others on horseback, through a vast desert (the ancient wilderness of the Getæ), where not an animal, herb, tree, road, or human habitation was to be seen; suffering more from thirst and the intense heat of the sun, than they had experienced amidst the severities of a Russian winter. On arriving at the river Bog, near Oczakow, the Muscovites, who had continued the pursuit, captured nearly the whole suite, before a sufficient number of boats could be procured from the governor of the town. This loss affected the king more than all his other misfortunes; and for the first time he gave expression to his sympathies by melting into tears.

Being now within the Turkish dominions, Charles received an invitation from the Seraskier of Bender to take up his residence in that town, where, in conformity with a maxim of the Ottoman government, to regard as sacred the persons of unfortunate princes who might take refuge among them, the vanquished monarch was received with all the ceremony due to his rank, and provided with every necessary accommodation which the

* The flight of Charles was attended with many narrow and surprising escapes. Twice he had his horse killed under him; the coach in which he rode broke down, and to complete his misfortune, he wandered all night in a wood, where he lay overcome with fatigue and the pain of his wound, at the foot of a tree, in danger of being seized every moment by the Russians, who were searching for him on all sides.

country could afford. He was permitted to erect a house for his residence ; the officers followed his example, and the soldiers raised barracks, so that his camp assumed the appearance of a small town. His retinue was increased to 1000 men, having been joined by many of the Poles, Swedes, and Cossacks, who had escaped the swords of the Russians. Their support was chiefly drawn from the generosity of the sultan, Achmet III., who, besides a liberal supply of provisions, allowed the king 500 crowns a-day for the maintenance of his household. Money was likewise contributed by the French government ; but the munificence of these courts was prompted not altogether by compassion ; they hoped to keep Russia and Germany in check, by upholding a warlike prince who might, notwithstanding this sudden reverse, amply repay their hospitality when he returned to his own dominions.

Misfortune had not yet banished from the mind of Charles the romantic project of dethroning the czar, and marching back to Sweden in triumph through Muscovy and Poland, at the head of a victorious army. The years of his captivity were consumed in fruitless endeavours to rouse the Turks against his enemies, and assist him in the accomplishment of these imaginary conquests. His prospects changed with every new minister, and grew bright or dark according as the wavering policy of the divan was swayed by the intrigues of Poniatowski or the gold of Russia. The councils of the Porte fluctuated alternately between his interests and those of his antagonist ; and the same vizier that promised to conduct him to Moscow at the head of 200,000 men, abandoned his cause and joined in a plot to effect his ruin.

While Charles was thus occupied, clinging to the idle hope of subduing the czar, and obstinately rejecting every arrangement for conveying him back in safety to his own dominions, his former enemies, taking advantage of his protracted absence, determined not only to recover the possessions they had lost, but to assail in their turn the territories of their conqueror. The con-

sequences of the battle of Pultowa were as important to Russia as they had been disastrous to Sweden. Not only was the emperor relieved from the apprehension of invasion by his indefatigable rival, but enabled to prosecute his schemes for the civilisation and improvement of his subjects, by means of the superior skill and industry of the Swedish prisoners. These unfortunate captives, being chiefly dispersed over the rude province of Siberia, were obliged to earn their subsistence by exercising some trade or handicraft; and while the soldiers employed themselves in mechanical labours, the officers became painters and architects, or taught the languages and sciences.

But the result of that decisive overthrow was not confined to Muscovy. It changed entirely the military aspect, and indeed the whole political system of the North. Augustus returned to Poland at the head of a Saxon army, protested against his abdication as extorted by terror, and succeeded without much opposition in driving Stanislaus from the throne. His patron, the czar, in recompense for the assistance he had afforded, obtained the cession of Ingria, Livonia, and a great part of Finland. Several other princes revived claims which had long been kept dormant by virtue of treaties, or from dread of the gigantic power of Sweden. The King of Prussia, the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Bishop of Munster, and the Elector of Hanover (afterwards George I. of England), were each desirous, in the absence of Charles, to obtain a share of his spoils.

Frederick IV. of Denmark, renewing his pretensions to the territories of Scania, Holstein, and Bremen, which he had lost by the peace of Travendhal, entered into a league offensive and defensive with the sovereigns of Russia and Poland, and issued a manifesto declaring, among other reasons for coming to a rupture with Sweden, the restless ambition and evil designs of Charles, whom he accused of attempting to deprive him of his crown. On the same day that war was proclaimed, a Danish army of 2500 horse and 13,000 infantry,

headed by the king in person, landed in Scania, and seized upon Helsingborg. Having succeeded in this enterprise, Frederick returned to Copenhagen, leaving Count Raventlau in command.

Meantime the Swedish government were not insensible to the danger that surrounded them, and the most active preparations were made to repel the invasion. The regency appointed by Charles before his departure had incurred the jealousy of the senate, and for a time these animosities proved detrimental to the public service. But private quarrels were soon forgotten, when all were threatened with one common ruin. The late wars had cost them the enormous sacrifice of 300,000 brave soldiers, and of the old regular forces not above 8000 were left in Sweden. For protecting their possessions in Germany, scarcely 13,000 troops remained ; and of these, few could be spared for the campaign in Scania. Notwithstanding every disadvantage, the most active measures were adopted for the preservation of the kingdom. The militia established by Charles, one of the wisest institutions of his reign, had proved a nursery for the army, and it now formed the best bulwark of the national independence.

One obstacle was yet to be overcome. The prospect of hostilities alarmed the emperor and his allies, and no sooner were the Swedes in motion than the ministers of England and Holland, and the states of Germany, endeavoured by a treaty concluded at the Hague (1709), and by corresponding with the regency of Stockholm, to stipulate for the security of the imperial territories exposed to the casualties of war, by exacting assurance that the belligerents would observe neutrality with regard to Pomerania and the other adjacent provinces, so that the princes of the empire might not be compelled to withdraw their troops from the grand alliance against France, to cover their own dominions. This extraordinary demand the regency could not grant, without incurring the hazard of losing all their possessions on the coasts of the Baltic, and tamely submitting to be-

come the prey of their enemies ; but they satisfied the allied powers so far as to promise that they would commit no breach of neutrality, unless cause were given by provocation or the infraction of subsisting treaties.

These impediments being removed, General Steinbock, at the head of 8000 regulars and 12,000 militia, sailed for Scania to check the Danes, who were plundering and desolating the country with impunity, and had augmented their force to 20,000 men under Count Rantzau. There was no time to equip the new recruits in regimental clothing ; most of them appeared in their coarse linen frocks, having pistols fastened to their girdles with cords. But the want of accoutrements was more than supplied by their courage and eager thirst for revenge. The enemy had already invested Malmo, when the approach of Steinbock obliged them to abandon the siege, and intrench themselves in a strong position near Helsingborg, from which they were driven with great slaughter, having lost about 8000 in killed and prisoners ; many fell in the retreat, and a vast number of the wounded afterwards perished of hunger, or died of the infection caught from the putrid carcasses of the horses, which had been slaughtered to prevent them from becoming the prey of the enemy. The passage from Scania to Zealand is so short, that intelligence of the defeat arrived the same day at Copenhagen ; the king sent his fleet to carry off the wreck of this disastrous expedition, and the invaders quitted Sweden with precipitation in less than a week after the battle.

Meanwhile the Russians had made themselves masters of Livonia, and would have subdued the whole of Finland, had not a revolution taken place in the councils of the Sublime Porte, who began to entertain some alarm at the naval power of the czar in the Black Sea. The threat of the new vizier, Beltagi Mohammed, to invade Muscovy with 200,000 Turks and Tartars, changed the scene of hostilities from the shores of the Baltic to the banks of the Pruth. The two armies met near Jassy,

where the czar, by the bold ingenuity of his wife (the celebrated Catherine I.), who concluded a secret treaty (July 1711) with the Turkish commander, was rescued from the same doom that had annihilated his antagonist at Pultowa. Charles XII., who expected to witness the total destruction of his enemy, and had hurried to the spot anticipating the ineffable pleasure of again meeting him in battle, was filled with disappointment and rage when he beheld the half-famished Russians allowed to depart without striking a blow.

The Ottoman government, wearied with the intrigues and caprices of so troublesome a guest, at length became anxious to hasten his return. His allowance was retrenched, but this only made him spend with the greater profusion. To the messenger who communicated the proposal of conducting him safe home, either through Poland or Germany, he replied by threatening to hang him up at the door of his tent. The Grand Seignior condescended to write him a letter, full of ostentatious compliment, praying him "to set forward under the direction of Providence," and offering him an honourable escort, with money and every thing necessary for the journey. Charles accepted the 1200 purses, but contrived still to prolong his stay. These subtuges and evasions made it obvious that force alone could accomplish what had been attempted in vain by more lenient and honourable means. A resolution of the divan to that effect was conveyed to Bender: "Obey your master if you dare," said Charles to the bearer of the Imperial mandate, and began to adopt measures of defence, by employing his domestics in barricading the doors and windows, and throwing up regular intrenchments. These operations being finished, in which he assisted with his own hands, he sat down to chess, and went quietly to sleep with his favourite Grothusen, as if every thing were in a state of perfect security; although his household was deprived of provisions, and invested on all sides with an army of 26,000 Turks and Tartars.

His generals, with Baron Fabricius, who then resided with him as envoy from the young Duke of Holstein, implored him to have some respect for a life so valuable to his people ; but their entreaties were disregarded, and the chaplains were told it was their business to pray for him, not to give him advice. With an air of cool intrepidity, he went through all the formalities of a pitched battle, apparently delighted at the idea of sustaining the onset of a whole host of assailants. He rode from post to post, creating officers, and promising rewards and honours to those who should fight with courage. As necessity had made every menial a soldier, the cooks and grooms had their respective stations assigned them, while the defence of others was intrusted to the chancellor and secretary.

A short respite was obtained, from the unwillingness of the janizaries, who had been in his service, and partaken liberally of his bounty, to attack their former benefactor ; and perhaps the seraskier would hardly have ventured on the expedient of dislodging him by violent measures, had not the obstinate monarch refused to accept their mediation with the sultan on his behalf. The intrenchments were forced in an instant, after a few discharges of artillery ; 300 Swedes surrendered themselves prisoners rather than endanger the king's life ; but this loss only made him the more determined not to yield. The house was soon filled with the enemy ; a desperate conflict ensued in the hall, which ended after much bloodshed in the expulsion of the Turks.

Finding no other resource, and ashamed of sacrificing a whole army to capture a single individual, the pasha ordered the premises to be set on fire, by means of arrows pointed with lighted matches shot into the roof. The inmates, after trying to extinguish the conflagration, which was increased by the error of throwing upon the flames a cask of brandy mistaken for a barrel of water, rushed like maniacs from the burning pile, and attacked their assailants sword in hand. In this sally, Charles fell, entangled with his spurs ; the janizaries sprung

upon him instantly, and carried him by the arms and legs to the tent of their commander. To save himself from the mortification of delivering up his sword, he had thrown it in the air the moment he was apprehended ; but no sooner was he completely overmastered, than the violence and irritation of his temper at once subsided. He even spoke of " the battle of Bender " in a strain of playful jocularitv ; and next morning when Fabricius was admitted to his chamber, he found him sleeping on a sofa (having declined the luxury of a bed), bare-headed and in boots ; his eyebrows scorched, and his whole body covered with dust and blood.

As the Porte was anxious to be relieved of his presence with as little delay as possible, he was conveyed to the castle of Demirtash near Adrianople, and removed soon after to the small town of Demotica. Scarcely had he set out on his journey, when he learned that Stanislaus, who had joined the Swedish army in Pomerania, and was taken prisoner near Jassy, while proceeding in the disguise of a French officer to have an interview with him on the subject of his abdication, had been arrested and brought a captive to Bender, within a few hours after he had quitted the place. At this intelligence he evinced not the slightest surprise ; a message was despatched to his unfortunate friend, assuring him that, as affairs would soon take another turn, he ought never to renounce the crown, nor make peace with Augustus. Such was the unaccountable infatuation with which Charles clung to his favourite delusion, of yet surmounting his difficulties, and returning home, not as a vanquished prince, but the leader of a conquering army.

During his short residence at Demotica, he renewed his intrigues with the Ottoman court, and had the pleasure to see vengeance inflicted on the Pasha of Bender, who was dismissed from office and confined to one of the Grecian islands. The new vizier incurred his resentment by inviting him to a private interview,—an act of disrespect for his person and dignity which he could not tolerate ; and to avoid being subjected to these insulting liberties in

future, he resolved to confine himself to bed under presence of sickness. In this extraordinary determination he persisted for ten months; the chancellor (who officiated as cook), the treasurer, and Colonel Dubens, being the only individuals admitted to his table.

During the long period thus consumed in indolence or useless intrigues at a foreign court, the inveterate enemies of Charles in the North were ravaging his German dominions, and annihilating his best troops. The czar had subdued Livonia and Finland, whilst his allies and Frederick invaded Pomerania with a combined army of Poles, Danes, and Muscovites, amounting to 46,000 men. This act of violence, dictated solely by avarice and resentment, they attempted to vindicate under the idle pretext of self-defence. Their success, however, was not on a scale commensurate with their formidable preparations. After reducing Treptow and Damgarten, and making a fruitless attempt on Stralsund and Wismar, the two monarchs retired to winter-quarters in their respective capitals. Instead of attempting a second irruption into that province, where his army had suffered grievously from famine and disease, Frederick invaded Bremen, and obliged Stade to surrender. The fall of this important place was equivalent to the subjugation of the entire duchy, as few of the other towns were capable of offering resistance.

Notwithstanding these disasters, the warlike spirit of Sweden was yet unbroken. The generous proposal of the hardy Dalecarlians, to march a body of 20,000 men to the relief of their sovereign, inspired the other inhabitants with a noble emulation to protect the kingdom from the encroachments of its ambitious neighbours. Steinbock, who had signalized himself by chasing the Danes out of Scania with a handful of undisciplined peasants, still maintained the glory of his country in Pomerania, and amply revenged the loss of Bremen, by the capture of Rostock, and the splendid victory he obtained (December 1712) over the united Danish and Saxon army at Gadebusch, in the duchy of Mecklenburg, after

one of the most desperate and sanguinary battles that had yet been fought between the two nations.

The lustre of this achievement, however, was tarnished by an act of barbarity which admits only of defence on the principle of retributive justice. The flourishing town of Altona, belonging to Denmark, was laid in ashes to expiate the cruelties inflicted on the Pomeranians, of whom nearly 100,000 had been sold to the Turks. A large ransom was offered to save the place; but Steinbock was inflexible. Though the citizens had permission to retire with their effects, hundreds of them perished in the open field, from hunger and exposure to the snows of a rigorous winter. At this period, had Charles appeared on the scene of action, when his generals were carrying on the war with animation and success, he might probably have retrieved the fortunes of his country. It was indeed one of the greatest errors ever monarch committed, to waste years in exile and vain expectation, when by a single vigorous effort at home he might have rescued his defenceless territories, and again turned the tide of conquest upon his invaders. But the opportunity was neglected; and in a short time Sweden was deprived of the fruits which, at a happier crisis, she might have reaped from her gallant struggle on the German shore of the Baltic.

After the burning of Altona, Steinbock entered Holstein to raise contributions, preparatory to the invasion of Jutland; but he was attacked on the Eyder by a combined force of Russians, Danes, and Saxons, which obliged him to retreat to Tonningen, where he and his whole army were besieged, and reduced to the necessity of surrendering prisoners at discretion. In addition to these disasters, the territories of the young Duke of Holstein, nephew of Charles and presumptive heir to the throne, were subjected to the most destructive ravages. Nor was the state of affairs more prosperous by sea. The czar, now master of the Baltic, where he had not a single vessel twenty years before, defeated the Swedish squadron under Admiral Ehrenschild, and followed up that

victory by landing 6000 troops in the isle of Aland, and seizing a number of prisoners.

The condition of Sweden was now truly deplorable. She had neither trade, money, nor credit. Her army was annihilated ; and above 150,000 of her best soldiers were slaves in Turkey and Muscovy, or locked up in the fortresses of Denmark and Poland. Her foreign provinces were lost, some of them being held as pledges, others as conquests. Finland was in possession of the czar ; Bremen was filled with Danish garrisons ; the whole of Pomerania, except Rugen and Stralsund with some adjacent places, had fallen a prey to the allies, and was sequestered in the hands of the King of Prussia, who consented to hold it until the establishment of a general pacification, when he agreed to restore Stettin and its dependencies to the Swedes, on condition of their paying him an indemnity of 400,000 crowns for his expenses.

Under these calamitous circumstances, the regency at Stockholm were desirous of negotiating a peace ; and with this view the Princess Ulrica Eleanora was requested by the senate to take upon herself the chief administration of affairs during the king's absence. A diet was convoked for deliberating on the means of re-establishing the public finances, and putting an end to the accumulation of misfortunes which threatened their existence as an independent nation. A resolution was passed, that the military force should be augmented to 30,000 men, and a decree issued, charging all the inhabitants to send their plate to the mint to be coined for the use of the state. With regard to the power of negotiating in the absence of the king, or without consulting his wishes, a considerable difference of opinion existed. On the question being decided in the affirmative, the princess resigned the regency, and declared that she would enter into no treaty with the enemy until authorized by her brother, who would never assent to any terms that did not secure the full restitution of his losses, and the restoration of Stanislaus to the throne of Poland.

On receiving an account of these proceedings at Demotica, Charles was full of indignation at the idea of the senate usurping the prerogative of the sovereign ; and threatened, if they persisted in exercising the authority of government without his sanction, to send one of his boots, from which in future they should receive their orders.

Whilst the states of Sweden were thus occupied, a revolution, favourable to the Russians, happened in the Ottoman divan, which gave a fatal blow to the king's hopes, and hastened his immediate departure for the North. With a small Turkish escort he set out (October 14) on his journey. On reaching the Transylvanian frontier, he took leave of his retinue, and disguising himself in a black wig, with a gold-laced hat and a blue cloak, he pushed forward with only two officers, travelling night and day without intermission, alternately riding on horseback and sleeping in a chaise upon a bundle of straw. Early on the 21st of November (1714), he arrived at Stralsund, and surprised General Ducker half asleep, who could scarcely believe his senses when he recognised the person of his majesty. In an instant the whole town was in commotion ; the streets blazed with bonfires ; the artillery fired salutes from the ramparts ; and the soldiers flocked in crowds to behold the hero who had so often led them to victory. In the midst of these tumultuous rejoicings, Charles found it necessary to take a few hours' repose ; his legs were so much swollen that the boots, which had not been removed for sixteen days, required to be cut off ; and as he had neither linens nor change of dress, his wardrobe was supplied with such articles as the town could afford. His first employment on awaking was to inspect the troops and fortifications ; after which, he issued orders to all the different parts of his dominions for renewing the war with redoubled vigour.

The news of his return seemed to inspire Sweden with an excess of military enthusiasm ; multitudes flocked to his standard ; and in a few weeks the levies were completed, so that a famine threatened the country from the scarcity

of hands left to cultivate the soil. To strengthen his government at home, he gave his sister Ulrica in marriage to the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel. His first object being the preservation of his German territories, he demanded from his Prussian majesty the restitution of Stettin, and offered to pay the full indemnity. The rejection of this proposal led to a declaration of war against Sweden, whose continental possessions were now assailed by the confederated armies of Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover. Succours were implored from France; but Louis XIV., broken with age and humbled by misfortune, contented himself with endeavouring in vain to settle these disputes by negotiation.

Whilst the allied forces recovered Usedom and invested Wismar, the Danish and Russian fleets swept the Baltic, and threatened Stockholm itself with attack.* The island of Rugen was seized after an obstinate defence, in which Charles was wounded, and several of his favourite officers killed, who had been the companions of his exile. The chief object of the enemy was the reduction of Stralsund, which was strongly fortified, and contained a garrison of 9000 Swedes. The operations of the siege—one of the most memorable in the history of the war—were directed by the kings of Denmark and Prussia, whose exertions must have been doubly stimulated by the hope of capturing their illustrious rival, who commanded in person. Citizens and soldiers, animated by the example of their royal leader, who fought on foot with his grenadiers, persevered in their resistance for two months (October 20—December 17), until the town was a mass of ruins. Charles contrived to make his escape in a small boat at midnight, with only ten individuals, and passing the batteries and fleets of the allies, not without imminent danger, he succeeded in reaching a Swedish vessel, then cruising in the Baltic, which landed him safely at Ystad. Immediately after

* One of the most active naval officers in this war was the celebrated Tordenskiold, the Danish Nelson, who raised himself, by his merits alone, from being a tailor's apprentice in Trondheim, to the rank of vice-admiral.

his departure, General Ducker demanded a capitulation, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war.

The king spent the winter at Carlscrona. By his own appointment he held an interview with his sister on the bank of the lake Wetter, which probably had reference to the affairs of the regency ; but he declined the invitation of the deputies to visit Stockholm, unwilling that his subjects should behold his present wretched condition, which offered so woful a contrast to the splendid armament with which he quitted that capital on his first campaign. His attention was now totally engrossed in preparations for renewing hostilities. Recruits were levied throughout the whole kingdom ; and to supply the loss of the marine, privateers were engaged on the most lavish terms to embark in his service. The enormous expense could only be defrayed by means of additional assessments, and practising every kind of extortion. All the iron was bought up by the government ; provisions were forcibly seized ; and heavy duties imposed on silk dresses, periwigs, and gilt swords. The people, impoverished and oppressed to the utmost degree, would have rebelled under any other king ; but such was their admiration of his military talents and courage, that they endured every species of hardship without a murmur. As they expected every moment to see their country invaded by some of its numerous enemies, all sense of private misfortunes was absorbed in the apprehension of public danger.

By the month of March, Sweden had an army of 25,000 men ready for the field. The destination of this force was kept a profound secret ; when, to the astonishment of all Europe, instead of guarding his own frontiers, menaced with invasion from every quarter, Charles made a sudden irruption into Norway, with a view to revenge his losses on Denmark by the conquest of that kingdom. In this expedition he was accompanied by his brother-in-law, the hereditary prince of Hesse, with whom he had concerted this extraordinary enterprise. Crossing the almost impassable boundary of mountains, by diffi-

cult paths where a small ambuscade might have arrested the progress of a whole army, they advanced towards Christiania, and defeated the Danes in several conflicts. Fortune seemed once more to smile upon Charles in this distant region ; but her favours were deceitful. Strong reinforcements arriving from Denmark, the Swedes were driven from every post they had won ; and as no care had been taken to provide for their subsistence in a barren country covered with snow, they were obliged to return greatly diminished in numbers.

If the allies were surprised at this bold attempt in a monarch to carry war into the heart of the enemy's territories when he could not defend his own, much more were they astonished to see the czar remaining an inactive spectator of these events, instead of joining the King of Denmark, as he had promised, in making a descent upon Sweden. This unexpected change in the policy of Russia was the result of a project formed by the celebrated Baron de Gortz,—a bold, artful, and enterprising man, who had become the favourite minister of Charles, and was intrusted with the sole direction of public affairs. The sagacity of this intriguing statesman easily foresaw that the preservation of his master's dominions might be maintained by fomenting dissensions among the confederated princes, who had already offended their imperial ally, and neutralized his zeal in the common cause, by their attempts to prevent the extension of his possessions on the German shore of the Baltic, where he had long fixed his eye on Wismar as a convenient retreat for his shipping. These mutual jealousies formed the groundwork on which the subtle genius of Gortz built the scheme of a revolution that might have thrown all Europe into a state of political combustion. He advised Charles to make peace with the czar on any terms, even at the sacrifice of ceding to him those continental provinces (Ingria, Carelia, and Livonia), which he was no longer in a condition to defend ; whilst the latter, in compensation for these territories, would espouse his quarrel with the Kings of

England and Poland, by restoring Stanislaus, and setting the young Pretender (son of James II.), on the British throne, in revenge for the seizure of Bremen by George I., under pretext of securing the peace of the empire.

In the prosecution of his object, the indefatigable baron visited such of the European courts as were likely to favour his design. The Spanish minister, Cardinal Alberoni, entered at once into the secret plot for the restoration of popery and the Stuart dynasty in England. The Jacobite refugees in Holland were willing to co-operate in raising funds and purchasing ships. The approbation of the czar was gained, chiefly from the hope of realizing the establishment of his power in northern Germany: the united forces of Sweden and Russia were to overrun Poland and Hanover, recover the duchy of Bremen, and make a hostile descent on the coast of Britain. A conference between Gortz and Baron Osterman, minister of state at St Petersburg, was appointed to take place in the isle of Aland, to complete the final arrangements of this grand project; but in the mean time an unexpected occurrence interrupted their proceedings, and rendered abortive a scheme that might have spread the flames of a desolating war from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. This event was the premature death of the King of Sweden. The prospect of a treaty with the czar had induced him to withdraw his troops from the provinces that formed the barrier against Russia; and having reinforced his army, he set out (October 1718) on a second expedition to Norway, being more ambitious to conquer amidst rocks and frozen lakes, than to recover his valuable possessions in Germany.

Whilst General Arenfeld penetrated into the interior with 10,000 men, Charles followed with another division and laid siege to Frederickshall. The ground was enveloped in snow, and the cold so intense, that the sentinels were often found dead at their posts. These severities made no impression on the iron frame of Charles, which was so hardened by eighteen years of incessant labour, that he slept on the ground covered

only with a cloak, and could fast five days without injury to his health. To animate the men employed in the trenches, he went on the 11th of December to visit the works, in the midst of a tremendous fire from the enemy. He stood with nearly the half of his body exposed to a battery of cannon, pointed directly against the angle where he had halted, and continued for some time with his elbow resting on the parapet, viewing the operations by star-light. Some of his attendants entreated him to change his position, but he refused to quit the spot, and in a few minutes he was observed to fall, uttering a deep groan. When taken up, he was found already dead ; his head reclining on the parapet, and his hand, by a sort of instinctive motion, firmly grasping the hilt of his sword. A cannon ball of half-a-pound weight had perforated his right temple, forcing in the left eye, and beating the other quite out of the socket. As it was deemed prudent to conceal this misfortune from the army, the body was dressed in a gray cloak, with a hat and wig, and in this disguise conveyed, under the name of Captain Carlsberg, through the midst of the soldiers, who were unconscious of the irreparable loss they had sustained.

At the time of his death, Charles was little more than thirty-six years of age,—one half of which was spent amidst the turmoil of arms, or wasted in foreign exile. The instinctive traits of his character were few but strongly marked. War was his ruling passion ; and in him the world beheld the rare spectacle of a conqueror bent on subduing kingdoms for the mere gratification of giving them to others, and without any apparent wish to enlarge his own dominions. The glory of his exploits dazzled all Europe ; but it was the passing splendour of a meteor ; and not a vestige of his greatness survives except the memory of his renown, or the names of the places immortalized by his battles. To polished manners and the refined pleasures of society he was an utter stranger ; the charms of the fair sex made no impression on his heart, which seems to have been altogether in-

sensible to the softer passions. All the actions of this prince, even those of his private life, appear to have sprung from a misdirected ambition ; blind to consequences, he pursued his infatuated career until his extravagance ruined Sweden, and gave his enemies that ascendancy which it had been the sole object of his reign to prevent.*

The death of Charles produced an entire change in the aspect of Swedish affairs. The Prince of Hesse immediately raised the siege of Frederickshall, and led the troops back to their own country, without any attempt being made on the part of the Danes to harass them on their march. When the intelligence reached Stockholm, the senate instantly assembled ; their first act was to cause Gortz, then on his way to Norway, to be arrested. That unfortunate minister was regarded by the nobility and clergy as the author of all the oppressive measures of the late reign ; a charge was formally drawn up against him, in which he was accused of having advised the late disastrous campaign, of having abetted the king in all his ambitious projects, and ruined the public credit by resorting to the desperate expedient of giving to copper money the value of silver.

The baron defended himself with great ability ; he

* Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. Nordberg, *Leben von Carl XII.* Aldenfeldt, *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII.* Whether Charles fell by a ball from the Danish batteries, or by the hand of an assassin, as has been asserted, was a point long and keenly contested by different authors. See Coxe's *Inquiry into the Circumstances and Occasion of his Death, Travels*, vol. iv. b. 7, c. 3. The hat, clothes, buff-belt, boots, &c., which he wore at the time when he was shot, are still preserved in the arsenal at Stockholm, among an immense number of standards and other trophies taken in course of his wars, chiefly from the Germans, Poles, Russians, and Danes. His tomb in the church of Ridderholm has been repeatedly opened, with a view to ascertain, from the appearance of the skull, whether his death was by assassination, or caused by a shot from the enemy. The uncertainty has not been altogether dispelled, some being of opinion, from the nature of the wound, that the fatal bullet must have been directed by a private hand from behind, and not from the Danish works in front. Clarke's *Travels*, vol. xi. c. 2, p. 70 ; c. 3, p. 132-135. *Voyages de Moiraye*, tom. ii. p. 200.

pleaded the necessity of the times and the poverty of the exchequer for making an alteration in the currency ; and with respect to the Norwegian expedition, it was wholly the undertaking of his sovereign. But the clearness of his defence was of no avail ; the people demanded a victim to expiate the grievances and disorders with which they were unwilling to asperse the memory of their beloved monarch, and accordingly Gortz was condemned to lose his head at the foot of the common gallows,—a sentence which, however ignominious in itself, and dictated more by revenge than justice, was executed with unmitigated severity.*

Having thus gratified their vengeance, and performed with due solemnity the funeral obsequies of the deceased king, the Swedes proceeded to the regulation of their government and the election of a new sovereign. The Princess Ulrica Eleanora, younger sister of Charles, to the exclusion of the young Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, was declared queen by the free and voluntary choice of the states of the kingdom, having been already proclaimed by the army and in the prayers of the Church.† The senate, considering the present a favourable season for recovering the ancient privileges of the nation, obliged her majesty by a solemn act to guarantee the abolition of despotic power, and to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, as well as every prerogative inconsistent with the freedom of the people. An act of general amnesty preceded the ceremony of the coronation, which was celebrated at Upsala with the utmost magnificence.

In the new form of government proposed by the states, it was stipulated that the queen should profess the Lutheran religion ; that all places of trust or emolument should be given to the native nobility ; that no laws or taxes should be deemed valid without the approbation of the assembly ; that the senate should have

* Voltaire's *Life of Charles XII.* b. viii. Puffend. tom. vi. lib. 7.

† The duke was son of the eldest sister Hedwig, and ought, according to the law of succession established by Charles XI., to have ascended the throne.

the management of public affairs, in the absence or indisposition of the sovereign ; and that on the throne becoming vacant, they should assume the administration until the diet met for the choice of a successor. The cities, towns, and corporations were to be confirmed in their several rights and immunities ; the nobles of Esthonia, Livonia, and the other German provinces, were to be reinstated in all their former privileges, whenever the conclusion of peace should re-annex them to Sweden. The provisions of this liberal constitution were comprised in forty articles, which received the sanction of the queen and the different orders of the state. Declarations were issued on the subject of the paper currency and the copper money introduced by the Baron de Gortz, the former of which was wholly withdrawn, and the latter restricted to its intrinsic value.*

No sooner was the administration settled than the Swedes turned their views towards peace. The queen readily accepted the mediation of England for adjusting all disputes with the Elector of Hanover ; and on the 20th of November 1719, a double treaty was signed at Stockholm. The first of these contained a renewal of the ancient amity between the two kingdoms ; and the other, an accommodation between her Swedish majesty and George I. in right of his Hanoverian dominions, by which the latter agreed to pay a million of crowns on condition that Bremen and Verden should be ceded to him in perpetuity. He engaged also to send a squadron to the Baltic to aid Sweden in obtaining more equitable terms from Russia, who still insisted on the conditions stipulated at the congress of Aland.

The example of Great Britain was speedily followed by the other allied powers, who were induced to moderate their demands by the opportune arrival of Admiral Norris with an English fleet of twenty-eight men-of-war. By a treaty concluded at Stockholm (21st January 1720), the King of Prussia got the town of

* Sheridan, History of the late Revolution in Sweden, part ii. sect. 1. Coxe's Travels, vol. iv. chap. 4.

Stettin, with the isles of Usedom and Wollin, and that portion of Pomerania which lies between the Oder and the Peene. Denmark by another treaty consented to restore the isle of Rugen, with the part of Pomerania north of the Peene, and the towns of Stralsund and Wismar, on condition that the fortifications of the latter should be dismantled and never again repaired. It was also stipulated that his Danish majesty should admit no Russian ships into his ports or harbours, nor in any way assist the czar, until he should consent to accept more reasonable terms of accommodation. Sweden on her part agreed to pay a certain equivalent in money (600,000 dollars), and to renounce in favour of Denmark her exemption from the duties of the Sound and the two Belts, which had been guaranteed to her by former conventions. As for Poland, the treaty with that crown acknowledged Augustus as sole and legitimate sovereign, to the exclusion of Stanislaus, who was allowed to retain for life the name and honours of majesty, but without the title or arms of the kingdom he had usurped.

Muscovy was now the only remaining enemy of Sweden. Far from being intimidated by the menaces of England, the emperor persisted in his resolution not to make peace except upon terms of his own proposing. To enforce his demands, he recommenced hostilities, and put to sea with thirty men-of-war and nearly three hundred galleys, with which he laid waste the whole coast from Norrköping almost to Stockholm, burning a great number of houses and villages, and destroying all the foundries, smelting-mills, and iron works. These devastations, however, had no effect in producing the expected submission, and next year the czar resumed operations with a powerful squadron, which encountered the Swedish vice-admiral, and after a sharp engagement compelled him to retire to Carlscrona.

To arrest the progress of these disasters, the Swedes proposed an armistice; and the states were convoked to deliberate on the necessary steps for removing the

only impediment that opposed the general pacification of the North. The winter was consumed in fruitless negotiations, and various circumstances threatened to involve the kingdom in fresh troubles, when the czar at length consented that plenipotentiaries should attend the congress appointed to sit at Nystad, for adjusting a suspension of arms and preliminaries of peace. The conclusion of this treaty, which was finally signed on the 13th of September 1721, was accelerated by the depredations committed on the coasts and commerce of Sweden by a Russian squadron under General Lesly, who had been sent on a predatory expedition with a view to extort more favourable concessions. By the stipulations of that convention, the provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Esthonia, part of Carelia, the territory of Viborg, and the islands of Oesel, Dago, and Moen, were ceded to the czar, in lieu of which he surrendered the great duchy of Finland, and agreed to pay two millions of crowns as indemnity for losses sustained in course of the war. The prisoners on both sides were to be set at liberty without reserve, and the privilege was granted to the Swedish merchants of exporting corn to the value of 50,000 rubles yearly from Riga, Revel, and other Russian ports in the Baltic. The sacrifices exacted from Sweden by the treaty were deemed too great, and excited considerable discontent; but in the exhausted and half-ruined state of that kingdom, it was evidently impossible to contend on equal terms with a power then rapidly increasing in military resources, and already mistress of the northern seas.*

Before the completion of these pacific negotiations, Ulrica Eleanora had resolved, to the astonishment of all her subjects, on having her royal consort elected king, and associated with her in the government. Her majesty's proposal was formally communicated to the states, as well as to the senate and the two lower orders of the diet; and after long and violent debates as to the expe-

* Voltaire's *History of the Russian Empire*, vol. ii. Puffendorff, lib. vii. Dumont, *Corps Diplom.* tome viii. P. 2, p. 16-36.

diency or the advantages of dividing the sovereign authority, it was agreed that the prince should be raised to the throne, the queen consenting to relinquish her share of the supreme power during the lifetime of her husband. An act of election was accordingly drawn out (May 22, 1720), guaranteeing the exercise of the Lutheran religion as the only tolerated faith within the kingdom, and securing the liberties of the nation against any extension of the crown prerogatives, or any legislative measures tending to despotism, agreeably to the stipulations solemnly ratified in the recently established constitution.

In terms of the act called the *Royal Assurance*, imposing the new limitations on the regal authority, the monarch had the right of proposing bills or other public measures ; but before these could have the force of law, they were to be submitted to the examination of the states, in whom the legislative power was vested, and without whose assent peace or war was never to be proclaimed. As for the deliberations of the senate, who were conjoined with the crown in the administration, it was resolved that their decisions should be ruled by a plurality of suffrages, the sovereign having two votes and a casting-voice besides. The members of that body were restricted in future to the number of sixteen, and resuming their ancient title, they abandoned that of counselors to the king, which had been bestowed upon them at the revolution of 1680. In consequence of these restrictions, and the change to which they gave rise, the royal prerogative was greatly circumscribed ; nor was it possible to guard against farther encroachments, as the prince, by a radical defect in the new form of government, had no constitutional means of preserving the small remnant of power that was left him.* The excessive zeal of the states for the extension of popular liberty defeated its own object, and the lapse of a few years

* The articles of the *Royal Assurance* are recorded in Williams' *Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Northern Governments*, vol. ii. p. 584-591.

proved sufficient to overthrow all those securities against despotism, which had cost them so much pains to erect.

The establishment of peace and the happy adjustment of foreign affairs, enabled his Swedish majesty to expend his whole attention in maturing the fruits of that repose which his harassed and oppressed subjects had at length begun to enjoy. Nor were his efforts unsuccessful. In a short time order was restored to the provinces, all abuses social and political were investigated, commerce revived, industry flourished, the mines and manufactures were diligently cultivated, the treasury was replenished, the army better organized, and the forts and garrisons put in a competent state of defence. In the midst of this tranquillity, some trivial commotion was excited in consequence of alleged affronts being offered to the Dutch resident, and Count Freytag, minister from the Emperor of Germany at Stockholm; but the general harmony was not interrupted by these frivolous disputes about the violation of diplomatic privileges.

Embarrassments, however, of more difficult adjustment arose from another quarter. Whilst attempts were made to implicate Sweden in the disputes that arose out of the treaties of Vienna and Hanover, between Austria on the one side, and England, France, and Holland, on the other, the King of Denmark threatened to resume hostilities in consequence of the negotiation which he alleged the Duke of Holstein and the czar were carrying on for recovering possession of Sleswig. To meet these exigencies, a Swedish fleet was equipped with the utmost expedition, the militia were armed, and bodies of troops despatched for the protection of the coasts; but, fortunately for the peace of Europe, these warlike demonstrations were checked, by the interposition of France and England, whose influence defeated the intrigues of the Russian and Imperial courts to detach Sweden from her alliance with Great Britain. The states published their accession to the treaty, declaring at the same time, as the motives upon which their resolutions were formed, that it could be regarded in no

other light than a compact merely defensive, with a view to the preservation of the general repose, and contained nothing inconsistent with the amicable terms in which they stood with the czar. The king gave his cordial assent to this act of the diet under certain restrictions, unawed by the impotent threats of the Austrian and Russian ambassadors, who evinced their displeasure by a temporary absence from the court of Stockholm.

With respect to the affair of Sleswig, his Swedish majesty considered his closer intimacy with France and England as the most effectual measure for terminating these disputes, as it served to fulfil the treaty with Russia without infringing the engagements contracted with Denmark, and guaranteed by so many different powers. This assurance, however, did not satisfy the Duke of Holstein. As only son to the queen's eldest sister, he imagined his hereditary claim on the Swedish crown to be undeniable, and the intrigues which he contrived to pursue for elevating himself to the throne, became at a subsequent period the remote cause of factious disturbances, with which, on a superficial view, they might seem to have had little connexion.

After the successful adjustment of her foreign relations, Sweden passed a number of years in terms of friendship with all her neighbours, and enjoying the fruits of those wise and prudent measures which had been adopted for redeeming the disastrous effects of the late war. The only occurrence that interrupted this domestic tranquillity was the arrest and trial of Count Welling, accused of plotting against the liberties and government of his country, by abetting the mischievous projects of the Baron de Gortz, and holding secret correspondence with the Duke of Holstein, for altering the succession to the throne. Although most of the charges against this aged nobleman were founded in malice, he would have suffered a traitor's death by the hands of the common executioner, had not the entreaties of his daughter procured an exchange of his sentence into perpetual imprisonment in his own castle.

CHAPTER IV.

*From the Peace of Nystad to the Assassination of
Gustavus III., 1792.*

Death of Frederick IV.—Pacific and enlightened Policy of Christian VI.—Commercial and Judicial Reforms of Frederick V.—Improvement in Arts and Manufactures—Treaty with Russia—Internal Dissensions in Sweden—The Hat and the Cap Parties—War with Russia—Defeat of the Swedes and Loss of Finland—Death of the Queen—Competitors for the Throne—Treaty of Abo—Revolt of the Dalecarlians—Accession of the House of Holstein-Gottorp—'The Seven Years' War—Treaties of Hamburg and Hubertsburg—Renewed Dissensions in Sweden—Struggle between the Hats and the Caps—Attempt to subvert the Constitution—Revolution effected by Gustavus III.—Restoration of absolute Monarchy—Christian VII. of Denmark—Administration of Struensee—His Downfal and Execution—Divorce and Imprisonment of Queen Matilda—Triumph of the adverse Faction—League of the Armed Neutrality—Spirited Conduct of Prince Frederick—He is associated in the Government—Misunderstanding with Sweden—Gustavus implicated in a War against Russia—Failure of the Expedition into Finland—Changes in the Swedish Constitution—Renewal of Hostilities—Battle of Svenskasund—Peace of Werela—Revolution in France—Preparations in the North to oppose it—Assassination of Gustavus III.—Execution of the Regicide Ankarstroem—Duke of Sudermania appointed Regent—Accession of Gustavus IV.

DURING the long period that elapsed between the close of the seventeenth and middle of the eighteenth century, the history and policy of Denmark are so intimately blended with those of Sweden, that a relation of the one necessarily comprises the public transactions of the other. The treaty of Stockholm having secured to Frederick IV. all he could reasonably desire, the remainder of his life was passed in a state of unmolested

repose ; the only event that occurred worthy of commemoration being the destruction of his capital by an accidental fire (1728) which consumed upwards of 1640 houses. This monarch died in 1730, in the sixtieth year of his age ; he bears the character of a wise and brave prince, too fond of enterprise, but strongly disposed to promote the welfare of his subjects. His son and successor Christian VI. was one of the most patriotic and popular sovereigns that ever filled the Danish throne. The storms of war which lately desolated the North had subsided ; and although fresh hostilities, arising out of the disputed succession to the crown of Poland at the death of Augustus (1733), were renewed between France and Austria, the peace of Denmark continued to be undisturbed.

Immediately on his accession, Christian abolished certain monopolies in the sale of wine, brandy, salt, and tobacco, established under the late reign, which had occasioned loud complaints among the people on account of the heavy exactions imposed upon them by farming out that branch of the public revenue. He instituted a strict scrutiny into the management of the national finances, the result of which was, that several persons were convicted of malversation, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The whole of this king's administration was in unison with those acts of wisdom and prudence which distinguished its commencement. In 1736, he terminated the ancient disputes with the city of Hamburg, which produced several important concessions, and put a million of silver marks into the royal coffers. He renewed the treaties of amity with Sweden and England for the mutual protection of their dominions, and by these means frustrated the schemes of the Duke of Holstein to obtain repossession of Sleswig.

Every thing was done by this enlightened and spirited prince that tended to promote science, arts, and manufactures ; workmen were procured at high wages, as instructors and improvers, from various kingdoms in Europe ; and to facilitate the raising and disposing of

money, a royal bank was erected, which proved extremely advantageous to the mercantile interests of the kingdom. In imitation of his father's example, who had established a Greenland fishery, Christian founded a company for the India trade, and instituted a board and council to examine all proposals relative to the extension of commerce, in order to give the necessary encouragement for executing such as should meet with approbation.

Notwithstanding the repeal of certain oppressive taxes, he kept his fleet and army in a respectable condition, without increasing the burdens of his subjects. The national militia, which had been abolished, was restored ; the period of service for those between sixteen and thirty, was eight years ; and six for those beyond that age. An edict was published forbidding all persons, natives as well as foreigners, to trade in Denmark or Norway without a passport : the general condition of the people with regard to liberty was not improved, but this was less the fault of the king than of the nobles and landholders. Before the reign of Frederick IV. the Danish farmers were in a state of feudal slavery, and it was for the purpose of abolishing that degrading servitude, that the celebrated law of 1702 (Feb. 21) was published ; but its effects were counteracted by a subsequent act (December 30) passed at the instigation of the *grandees* and the aristocracy, requiring all males born upon an estate, from the age of fourteen to thirty-five, to be enrolled in the militia lists ; and not to quit their residence, as their service was entirely local. This latter provision of the enactment remained in force under Christian VI. ; the lord of the manor being ordered to furnish one soldier for about each 400 acres of land, with power to select any of his tenants he might think proper.

Although the policy of this monarch was pacific, he did not fail to take vigorous measures when events rendered warlike demonstrations necessary. This was apparent in the misunderstandings that arose with the King

of England respecting the small territory of Steinhurst in the electorate of Hanover, to which both princes laid claim; and with Holland on the subject of the Arctic whale-fisheries; but in each of these contests his Danish majesty's firmness and promptitude succeeded in carrying his objects without resorting to force. By his energetic display of military means, he frustrated the projects of Sweden for uniting herself with Russia, and conferring the succession of her throne on a prince of the house of Holstein. The reputation he acquired from his upright and wise administration, gained him the confidence of his allies and the applause of all Europe; and when he died (6th August 1746) he carried with him to the grave the universal regret and esteem of his subjects.*

Historians have observed with truth, that no kingdom has been more fortunate in its princes than Denmark; and this felicity she enjoyed not only when the monarchy was elective, but after the crown was made hereditary. The happy fruits of the late reign still continued to increase and ripen under Frederick V., who succeeded to the virtues as well as to the throne of his father. The first acts of his government were the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Spain, and the ratification of the alliance entered into between his predecessor and the Empress Elizabeth of Russia. In his domestic finances he made various judicious alterations, and by a well-regulated economy he managed to live so far within the bounds of his revenue, as to pay off a large amount of crown debts contracted by his ancestors. All this was effected after expending considerable sums in promoting manufactures, and rewarding ingenious artists; his fleets and armies at the same time were kept in an efficient condition, and strong garrisons maintained in the fortresses of the kingdom.

This excellent monarch was not less distinguished as a legislator than as a financier. In the year 1750 he granted a considerable sum of money out of his own

* *Mod. Univ. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 204.

private purse to increase the appointment of judges in the supreme court of judicature, and likewise established a president at the head of that tribunal. By a subsequent law regulating the character and qualifications of these judges, it was ordained that no man should be promoted to the bench until he had given indubitable proofs of his talents and integrity during a sufficient course of probationary service in the inferior judicatories. With the view of rendering exact and impartial justice to all classes of his subjects, Frederick extended the same beneficial rules and precautions to the superior courts in Norway. He also made some additions to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, by reducing all the particular ordinances and enactments which had been published during the reigns of his two immediate predecessors, into one body, and uniting them with the amendments introduced to the code of Christian V.

Besides these legal reforms in Denmark, this excellent prince revised the undigested jurisprudence which still prevailed among his subjects in Sleswig and Holstein. All the edicts and statutes hitherto uncollected, and very little known in these districts, he caused to be compiled and published. He suppressed the ancient usage established in that province, of consulting the German universities in all criminal affairs, and conferred the right of supreme decision in these matters on the court of Gluckstadt. But the Danish nation owes a special debt of gratitude to Frederick V. for the code of laws which he caused to be promulgated for the administration of the navy. The first part, which appeared in 1752, contained regulations respecting the fleet at sea, and was an amended collection of all former enactments on the subject; the second referred to the duties of the marines when employed on shore.

Nothing was omitted by this patriotic monarch that could render his dominions formidable to his enemies, or promote the happiness and prosperity of his people. Before he mounted the throne, the most common manufactures, even in Copenhagen, were in such an unim-

proved state, that they appeared in the eyes of foreigners to be the rude productions of the fourteenth century. For the better instruction of his subjects, and the importation of such branches of skill and industry as were then unknown in the kingdom, he encouraged the emigration of ingenious operatives and artisans from more enlightened countries, and advanced considerable sums from the royal treasury to purchase the materials necessary for their establishment. So early as 1748 he published an edict promising various privileges and immunities to such foreign traders and manufacturers as chose to settle within his territories. By these and other judicious means, new channels of improvement and commerce were opened up, capital was laid out to advantage, the revenues of the crown increased proportionably, and in the course of this single reign the national shipping was more than doubled. Of arts, science, and religion, Frederick was a munificent patron. To men of letters and inventors of military improvements he awarded liberal pensions, and took a personal interest in superintending their experiments. On one of these occasions he was exposed to imminent danger in the isle of Amack, from the accidental explosion of a cannon constructed on a new plan; several of the workmen were killed, but the king escaped, though not without having his dress and face scorched with gunpowder.

In the wars which, since the accession of Christian VI., had engaged almost every other state in Europe, and converted nearly the whole of Germany into a field of battle, Denmark took no part. At length, however, a dark cloud arose, which threatened to interrupt this happy era of peace and prosperity. Peter III., who had succeeded his aunt, the Empress Elizabeth (1762), on the throne of Russia, commenced his reign with an attempt to strip Frederick V. of a portion of his territory (the duchy of Sleswig), which he claimed as head of the house of Holstein-Gottorp, being the son of Duke Charles and Anne Petrowna, elder sister of Elizabeth. Military demonstrations were made on both sides. But fortunately

for the tranquillity of the North, the spark thus kindling into a conflagration was extinguished by one of those sudden vicissitudes that frequently overtake the possessors of disputed thrones. The czar, while on the eve of marching to give the enemy battle near Wismar, was deposed, after a short reign of six months ; and as his successor, Catherine II., did not think fit to espouse the quarrel of her husband, she recalled the troops from Mecklenburg, and agreed to a treaty of alliance with Frederick V. for terminating all these territorial differences, by a provisional arrangement, which was to come into operation immediately on the majority of her son, the Grand Duke Paul. By this accommodation between the two courts (which was signed at Copenhagen April 22), the empress renounced, in his name, her title to the ducal part of Sleswig, occupied by the King of Denmark. She also ceded to that monarch the part of Holstein possessed by the family of Gottorp, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which were to be erected into duchies, with the ancient privilege of a vote in the Imperial Diet. The stipulations of this treaty were punctually carried into effect ; the transference of the ceded territories took place in 1773 ; and the Bishop of Lubeck, as head of the younger branch of the Gottorp family, was, the same year, put in possession of his hereditary domains, which were constituted by Joseph II. into a fief-male of the empire, under the title of the duchy of Holstein-Oldenburg.*

The storm which menaced the tranquillity of Denmark being thus dispersed, Frederick spent the remainder of his life in encouraging the arts and sciences, and in promoting every scheme that had for its object the felicity and improvement of his people. In 1743 he had espoused Louisa, daughter of George II. of England, a princess esteemed for her amiable and generous qualities by the whole Danish nation. The birth of Prince Christian, in 1749, was the occasion of universal rejoicing ; and during the same year another jubilee was held,

* Heeren, *European States System*, vol. ii. period ii. p. 2.

to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary since the House of Oldenburg had mounted the throne. The death of his queen, in 1751, plunged his majesty into the deepest sorrow ; and to abstract his thoughts from the melancholy into which he had sunk, a second marriage was proposed with Juliana Maria of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel. The union proved happy neither to himself nor to his subjects ; the princess, whose personal charms and accomplishments were greatly inferior to those of her predecessor, soon discovered that she did not occupy the same regard in the affections either of the king or the people ; and as her disposition was naturally envious, she sought revenge in those acts of courtly intrigue which jealousy readily suggests for the destruction of a rival. The instrument she employed for effecting the gratification of her resentment, was a favourite German named Moltke, through whose agency she expected to place her son upon the throne, to the exclusion of the rightful heir. In this ambitious scheme she did not succeed ; but the intrigues in which she was then engaged, terminated ultimately in a revolution that transferred the reins of government to her own hands. That memorable event was preceded by the death of Frederick, who expired on the 14th of January 1766, in the forty-third year of his age. Among his own subjects his memory is still held in endearing remembrance ; and when his son, Christian VII., was proclaimed, the people expressed their admiration for the virtues of the deceased monarch, by exclaiming, " May he not only live long, but reign well like his father."

Sweden, during this period, was in a condition to have advanced in the same career of internal prosperity as Denmark. She was at peace with foreign nations, and enjoyed all the advantages of a wise and moderate government ; but the seeds of dissension were sown in the very constitution which had lately been formed on the basis of national liberty. On the assembling of the diet in 1738 (May 30), it soon appeared that the sentiments of the constituent members were so contra-

dictory, and their mutual animosities so violent, that the celebrated Count Tessin, who was chosen mareschal, found all his influence insufficient to control their deliberations. The house was divided into three separate factions, the most powerful and active of which, called the Hats, was composed chiefly of the remains of the late king's military officers and servants, and entertained principles favourable to the old system of administration; they exclaimed against the late treaty with Russia, and openly avowed their desire to recover all the provinces which had been ceded to that power.

The party directly opposed to these in their political views, bore the fantastic appellation of the Caps; they were friendly to peace and the existing system of government, and were willing to purchase tranquillity at the expense of the territorial cessions made to Muscovy. In this assembly, which the bitterness of debate prolonged for nearly a full year, the Hats gained a considerable majority; and to this circumstance must be ascribed the breach with Russia which immediately followed.*

Certain contemporaneous events occurred, which tended to exasperate the mutual animosity of the two nations. The disputed succession to the throne of Austria, on the death of Charles VI. (Oct. 1740), which then convulsed the whole continent, enabled France, who supported the claims of the Elector of Bavaria, in opposition to those of Maria-Theresa, to prevail with the ruling faction in Sweden to join her in the treaty of perpetual alliance concluded with Prussia, Poland, Spain, Sardinia, and the two Sicilies, against Russia, with the view of preventing the latter power from assisting the young queen to vindicate her hereditary title to her father's crown. The death of the Duke of Holstein and of the Empress Anne, which happened soon after, contributed

* Copious accounts of these parties, as well as of the internal relations of Sweden during this period, are to be found in "Sheridan's History of the late Revolution," and the Count de Lynar's "Staatschriften," 2 vols, Hamburg, 1793. The leader of the Hats was Count Syllenberg; and of the opposite party Count Horn, who had a principal share in establishing the new constitution.

to aid the designs of the Hats in promoting a rupture with the court of St Petersburg ; and, accordingly, a declaration of war was issued (August 1741), contrary to the pacific dispositions of the king, in a diet extraordinary held at Stockholm. Among other motives which they alleged for this step, was the assassination of Major Sinclair, a Scotsman in the Swedish service, who was wounded, as they affirmed, by a Russian emissary at Nuremburg, while bearing important despatches from Constantinople.

The Swedes flattered themselves that the time had arrived when they could repair the losses sustained by the foolish expeditions of Charles XII., and restore the military glory of their country. They hoped to find resources in the alliance and subsidies of France, and imagined that Russia would again be assailed by the Turks, who were liberally supplied with French gold, and had just concluded an advantageous peace with Austria. But the event proved that they had rushed into a war without adopting those preparatory measures which prudence should have dictated. They had neither an army fit for action, nor stores provided in Finland, the province which was the subject of contention, and the theatre of hostilities. The aged monarch was incapable of taking the command in person ; and his general, Count Levenhaupt, had nothing to recommend him but his devotion to the ruling faction. A variety of bloody engagements followed each other, and in almost every encounter the enemy were victorious. The first action which took place (Sept. 3), near Wilmanstrand, gave a decided triumph to the Russians ; the town was carried sword in hand, and upwards of 3000 Swedes were either killed or taken prisoners ; Major-general Wrangel, who headed the detachment, being among the latter. The revolution at St Petersburg (December 5), which exiled the Regent Anne, and elevated the Princess Elizabeth to the throne, seemed to indicate a change favourable to Sweden ; negotiations were immediately tried, but the conference was soon broken off, and war resumed.

The campaign of 1742 proved also unfortunate to Levenhaupt, who found an able antagonist in the Muscovite general, Count Laschi. Pursued beyond the river Kymen, the Swedes were compelled to abandon their stores and provisions. Nyslot, Helsingfors, and Abo the capital of Finland, were surrendered; and in a few months the entire province fell into the hands of the victors. Besides the loss of this fine tract of country, Sweden had the mortification to discover that her national spirit was gone; her once brave and hardy troops no longer maintained their superiority in the field; their former opponents, whom they had despised as undisciplined barbarians, were now become their masters in that very art which a few years before made them the terror and admiration of all Christendom. In the midst of these disasters, she had an additional calamity to deplore in the death of the queen, Ulrica Eleanora (December 5), who was cut off by small-pox in the 64th year of her age. No sovereign was ever more beloved than this princess, who possessed all those virtues that render private life amiable, and was endowed with every quality that could adorn her elevated station.

In consequence of her majesty's demise, the states were convoked for the purpose of regulating the succession to the crown; it was universally hoped that the settlement of that question would have a favourable effect on the melancholy situation of their affairs; but the variety of candidates who offered themselves, renewed the schism between the different factions in the diet, and had almost overturned the constitution. The clergy espoused the interest of the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, nephew to the king; while the nobility, the peasants, and a considerable party of the burgesses, being desirous of an accommodation with Russia, offered the throne to Charles Ulrick, the young duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who was nephew to the Empress Elizabeth, and presumptive heir to the imperial diadem. As this competitor was then resident at St Petersburg, his adherents expected that through his influence they would obtain

the restitution of Finland ; deputies were accordingly appointed to wait on his Highness, but on their arrival they had the mortification to find that he declined their offer, having recently been declared Grand Duke, and embraced the Greek religion. This intelligence astounded the diet, who then placed on the list of candidates the Duke of Deux-Ponts, the Prince Royal of Denmark, and the Bishop of Lubeck, uncle to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

The debates of the contending factions became more acrimonious than ever ; the peasants, who had so unanimously supported the nephew, abandoned the interests of the uncle, and declared zealously for the Danish prince. They were warmly seconded by the Hat party, who cherished an implacable jealousy of Russian aggrandizement. In this state of confusion, when hostilities were resumed by sea and land, and when the diet could neither determine to cede Finland altogether, nor suggest the means of recovering it, the interposition of his Britannic majesty, who offered his mediation in behalf of Sweden, happily succeeded in prevailing with the parties to arrange a conference at Abo, which terminated in a treaty of peace between the two nations.

The empress, in order to prevent the election of the Prince of Denmark, which threatened to cause a renewal of the ancient union of the three Northern kingdoms in his favour, and would prove highly injurious to the interests of her ally the King of Prussia, consented to abate the rigour of her first propositions, and offered to restore to the Swedes a great part of their conquests on condition of their electing Duke Adolphus Frederick bishop of Lubeck and administrator of Holstein. The evident advantages that would necessarily flow from this arrangement bore down all opposition ; the terms were accepted, and the bishop was accordingly (July 3, 1743) declared hereditary Prince of Sweden ; the succession to descend to his male heirs. His election was announced at Stockholm next day, and on the 25th of October he made his public entry into the capital amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people.

By the treaty of Abo, Sweden ratified anew all that she had surrendered to Russia by the peace of Nystad ; she likewise ceded to that crown the province of Kymen-gard, and the towns and fortresses of Fredericksham, Wilmanstrand, and Nyslot, with its territory. In this cession were included the islands lying on the south and west of the Kymen, with the ports and districts situated at the mouth of that river. All the rest of Finland was restored to Sweden, as were the other conquests which Russia had made during the war.*

The conclusion of an advantageous peace, and the harmonious settlement of the succession, might have established the public repose upon a permanent basis ; but nothing could reconcile the discontented peasantry, who had been defeated in their favourite project of elevating the Prince of Denmark to the throne. Disappointed in the object of their choice, they sought to gratify their resentment by demanding vengeance on the managers of the late war, to whose misconduct they imputed all its losses and disasters. The two generals, Count Levenhaupt and Baron Buddenbroke, who commanded the Swedish armies in Finland, were singled out as the victims of their revenge ; judicial proceedings accordingly were instituted against these unfortunate noblemen, and they were condemned, rather to appease popular clamour than from any proofs of guilt. A conviction of their innocence induced the tribunal to delay for some time the execution of their sentence ; but the increasing rage of the populace at length forced the court to withdraw its protection ; and the king, yielding to necessity, was obliged to sacrifice the lives of two faithful subjects, whose services he had acknowledged with gratitude. Buddenbroke was brought to the scaffold and beheaded (July 16) ; Levenhaupt procured a short respite by an escape, at which the government was supposed to connive ; but after a strict search he was apprehended and executed, notwithstanding the inter-

* Tooke's Hist. of Russia, vol. ii. *Mémoires de M. le Comte de Hordt*, tom. i. c. 7. Wenck, *Histoire des Traités de Paix*, tom. ii. p. 36. *Mémoires de Manstein*.

cession of the court, the nobles, and the clergy, to save him from his ignominious fate.

Restored to good humour by the perpetration of these revolting acts of cruelty and injustice, the peasants yielded their assent to the election of Duke Adolphus ; and on his arrival at Stockholm, they greeted him with the warmest demonstrations of joy. The claims of the Danish prince had also been espoused by several of the provinces, and so eagerly was his cause supported in Dalecarlia, that the inhabitants of the province rose in arms to the number of nearly 20,000, and marched to the capital in a body to disannul the proceedings of the states.

The king tried every method to appease this tumultuous host, and was even willing to make unreasonable concessions rather than come to extremities ; but as nothing short of instant compliance with their demands to revoke the election would satisfy them, it became necessary to employ military force. The troops were ordered out, and a battle fought in the midst of the city, which, after a bloody and obstinate conflict, ended in the defeat of the rebels, three thousand of whom were slain and the rest obliged to surrender and sign their consent to the decrees of the diet. A few of their seditious ring-leaders were punished, but the royal clemency was extended to the rest, although the heinous nature of their offence might have justified the utmost severity of the law. Denmark was alleged to have secretly promoted this revolt of the Dalecarlians, and notwithstanding her solemn protestations to the contrary, a rupture between the two states might have been the consequence, had not the armaments and menaces of Russia compelled Christian VI. to accept the terms of pacification offered by Count Tessin on the part of his Swedish majesty.

With the exception of a few slight domestic disturbances, and some attempts to alter the order of succession, which were easily suppressed, the tranquillity of the kingdom experienced no interruption until the death of Frederick, who expired (April 6) at Stockholm, having

nearly completed the 33d year of his reign. No monarch was more devoted to the happiness and welfare of his people. With this view he consented to renounce arbitrary power, and share the royal prerogative with the states and the senate. Although his military talents had attracted the praise and won the confidence of Charles XII., he preferred negotiation to war, and the benefits of a wise administration to the blood-stained trophies of victory.

The new sovereign, Duke Adolphus Frederick, assumed the reins of government, and was crowned (Dec. 7) along with his royal consort, Louisa Ulrica, sister to the King of Prussia. Immediately on his accession he renewed the treaty of Abo with Russia, in order to prevent future disputes respecting the boundaries of Finland; he entered also into a closer alliance with France and several other states, with the view of strengthening the interests and extending the commerce of Sweden. Following the example of his predecessor, he reformed various abuses in the administration of justice; he erected public institutions for the education of the young and the support of the aged or indigent; he established an insurance company and an academy of belles lettres, and generously patronized the efforts of science for the perfection of astronomy and navigation. The liberality and philanthropy of his disposition were remarkably displayed on the occasion of a destructive fire (1751) which consumed upwards of 500 houses in the city of Stockholm, and reduced a great number of the inhabitants to a state of extreme destitution.

The commencement of his administration indicated a tranquil and prosperous reign, and Sweden might have re-

had she not, contrary to her best interests, as well as to the whole system of her politics, joined the confederacy formed by Russia, Poland, Austria, and France, against the King of Prussia, whose rising greatness the court of Vienna had contemplated with envy and alarm. The details of this war, which for seven years (1755-1762)

deluged the north of Germany with blood; and spread its ravages to the European possessions in India, Africa, and America, it falls not within our province to narrate. Frederick II. was but feebly supported by England, yet his own great military talents and the skilful disposition of his resources, enabled him with inferior numbers to triumph over the combined force of his enemies. Out of fourteen pitched battles he gained nine; the Austrians and Russians claimed the remainder.

While Bohemia, Saxony, and Silesia continued to be the theatre of operations between the contending armies, twenty thousand Swedes, commanded by General Stornberg, had marched into Pomerania, under pretence of guaranteeing the treaty of Westphalia, and with the hope of recovering their former possessions in that country. As the Prussians were occupied in other quarters, and defeating the Austrians and French in successive engagements, the northern invaders took the towns of Demmin and Anclam, reduced the islands of Usedom and Wollin, and laid the whole district under contribution, as the garrison of Stettin, consisting of 10,000 men, could not leave that important fortress in order to check their devastations. The important victory which Frederick gained at Lissa (Dec. 5, 1757), and the retreat of the Russians, who were compelled to return home for want of provisions, enabled General Schwald to conduct 30,000 Prussians into Pomerania, where he soon obliged the Swedes to abandon the greater part of their conquests and retire under the cannon of Stralsund. Anclam, Demmin, and the other towns, were recovered; the Russian magazines in Poland were destroyed; yet no advances towards peace were made either by the courts of Stockholm or St Petersburg.*

At length the protracted storm was happily dissipated by one of those unforeseen vicissitudes in national politics, which often decide the fate of kingdoms contrary

* Lloyd's History of the War in Germany. *Œuvres Posthumes du Roi de Prussie*, tom. iii. iv. v. Archenholz, *Geschichte Siebenjährigen Kriegs*.

to the anticipations of the wisest statesmen. The death of the Empress Elizabeth, and the accession of her nephew Peter III. to the imperial throne, created a total revolution both in the councils and the administration of the Russian government. The new czar was a profound admirer of the great Frederick ; and being also ambitious of recovering from Denmark the duchy of Sleswig, to which he had pretensions as Duke of Holstein, he took an early opportunity of making pacific overtures to that sovereign. A suspension of arms was signed between the two monarchs, which was followed by a treaty of peace, concluded at St Petersburg (May 5, 1762), without embracing any stipulation respecting his former confederates, who had returned an unsatisfactory answer to his memorial containing proposals for the re-establishment of general tranquillity.

By this convention, Peter surrendered all the conquests made in Prussia and Pomerania during the war ; he renounced the alliances he had contracted against Frederick, and agreed to assist him with a body of troops in Silesia. Sweden, who had experienced nothing but defeats and repulses from armies greatly inferior to her own, followed the example of Russia in consenting to a truce with his Prussian majesty, which prepared the way for the treaty of amity signed at Hamburg (May 22) between the two kingdoms. While Frederick was pursuing his victorious career in Silesia, negotiations with the other allied powers had been so far successful, that the preliminaries of a general peace between France, England, Spain, and Portugal, were signed at Fontainebleau, and finally ratified (10th Feb. 1763) at Paris.* As for Germany and the north of Europe, the peace of Hubertsburg which immediately followed, after seven campaigns as sanguinary as they were expensive, reconciled Austria and Prussia, and restored affairs nearly to the same state in which they had been before the war.

* Wenck, tom. iii. p. 313, et seq. Herzberg, Recueil, tome i. p. 299. Martin, Recueil des Traités, tome i. p. 33-51.

Sweden was no sooner at peace with her neighbours than the elements of civil strife, which had long convulsed the kingdom, burst out with increased fury. The palpable defects, and the consequent abuses of the system of government adopted in 1720, had occasioned constant struggles between the sovereign and the people ; the one endeavouring to extend, and the other to abridge, the royal prerogative. The limitations imposed by that revolution upon Ulrica Eleanora and her husband, had so circumscribed the powers of the crown as to render the monarch little else than a state pageant. The supreme legislative authority resided absolutely in the diet,—a tumultuous assembly, composed of the four orders, into which tradesmen, peasants, and impoverished nobles were admitted ; most of whom, from their social condition, were subject to all those corrupting influences to which needy and illiterate representatives are necessarily exposed. Although all statutes were signed by the king, and the ordinances of the senate issued in his name, yet in neither case did he possess a negative ; and in all their decisions he was bound to abide by the opinions of the majority.

In these arrangements, so humiliating to royalty, and so pernicious to constitutional liberty, Adolphus Frederick acquiesced for a time, until their encroachments threatened to strip the crown even of the few nominal privileges that remained. In the diet of 1756, it was enacted that his majesty should place in the hands of the senators a stamp, which they might use in future instead of the king's sign-manual (should he refuse to subscribe his name) in all affairs which had hitherto required the royal autograph. Not content with thus usurping the sovereign's prerogative of affixing his signature to the ordinary despatches of government, they claimed the right of examining into the jewels and other valuables belonging to the crown, under pretence that the queen's diamonds were pledged at Hamburg for the purpose of raising money to strengthen the court party. To this inquisitorial proceeding, as well as to other instances,

equally offensive, of intermeddling with domestic affairs, their majesties were obliged to submit. Still more to humble the ascendancy which the Hat party had gained in the diet, Count Brache and Baron Horn were accused of having advised the re-establishment of absolute power as it existed under the former system ; and although no evidence of their guilt was produced, these noblemen, with six alleged accomplices, on suspicion only, were beheaded, notwithstanding the solicitation of both their majesties, who vainly implored that the sentence of death might be commuted into some milder punishment.

It had been the constant policy of France to maintain her superiority in the councils of Stockholm, in opposition to Russia and England ; and for several years the Swedish court might be called a battle-field, in which these foreign powers contended for the mastery ; not by shedding blood, but in trying, by secret intrigues and various means of corruption, to countermine each other's projects. According as these clandestine schemes succeeded, the Hat or the Cap party alternately prevailed ; the king, either from want of firmness or motives of expediency, adhering sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other. It was the preponderance of French agency that hurried Sweden into the late unfortunate war, in which she was exposed not only to defeats, but to an oppressive load of expenses, estimated at three millions and a half sterling, which the paltry subsidies of her ally contributed but little to reduce. Of the annual grants promised by France, a large sum remained due ; and it was by threatening to withhold payment of these arrears that she contrived so long to maintain her ascendancy in the Swedish diet. In vain had frequent demands been made for liquidation ; the amount was not considerable, but it was too much for an indigent government to lose ; and at length it was officially announced, that if the court of Versailles did not speedily execute its engagements, a British minister would be received at Stockholm. During the seven years' war, no envoy from that country had been admitted, in con-

sequence of the league with Prussia ; but now Sir John Goodricke was despatched in that capacity, and through his co-operation with the Russian ambassador the Caps became the triumphant party.

The effect of this change was the conclusion of a new treaty of amity and commerce (1776) between these three states respectively, in which it was stipulated that the subjects of each should enjoy in their several kingdoms, ports, and havens, all the reciprocal advantages and immunities granted to the most favoured nations. France, after ten years of intrigue, and a vast sacrifice of blood and treasure, thus beheld her primary object thwarted, and the political supremacy for which she had struggled, monopolized by her enemies. But neither the loss of her influence, nor the new combination of power against her, could eradicate her desire of domineering over Sweden. The Duke de Choiseul, then minister for foreign affairs, was determined to reassert her ascendancy at all hazards. Having failed in one project, he invented another, and sought to govern under the name of Frederick Adolphus. The scheme was at once daring and ingenious, embracing the bold design of rendering the king absolute, and restoring to the crown all the prerogatives it had lost. Louis XV. had endeavoured to implicate the Swedes in the war between Russia and the Porte ; but as the sovereign was entirely dependent on the states, which were then swayed by the party adverse to the interests of France, it became necessary to attempt a change in the constitution, which could only be done by destroying the senate and convoking a new diet. The prospect of augmented power, and the influence of the queen, prevailed with his majesty to favour the enterprise of the French minister ; but as no convocation could take place in opposition to the will of the senators, and as the latter, apprehensive of some plot to displace them, refused their assent, it became necessary to employ artifice for the attainment of this indispensable preliminary.

Under pretext of submitting certain measures relative

to taxation, the king summoned an extraordinary diet ; and as the senate declined to comply, he instantly demanded the stamp used instead of the royal signature, and caused public announcement to be made that he had abdicated the crown. In this dilemma, as neither party, by the fundamental law of the land, could act without the concurrence of the other, the executive power, according to the opinions of the principal colleges, was in consequence suspended. An interval of confusion followed, when at length the senate reluctantly consented to summon the states ; but in the mean time, the circulation of French gold among the electors of the Hat party secured a majority in favour of their representatives ; and when the diet assembled the apprehensions of the senators were verified. Those devoted to the British and Russian interests were deposed ; and as the Caps had suffered an irreparable loss in the death of their chief, Count Lovenhielm, who had the reputation of an able statesman, their antagonists succeeded the more easily in recovering the reins of administration.

The king, whose abdication was a temporary manœuvre, resumed his authority, and French influence again predominated. The Duke de Choiseul had so far carried his point as to supplant the opposite faction ; but the more difficult task still remained, to procure the sanction of the diet to any proposal for subverting the constitution, particularly as the suggestion of such an alteration in that assembly was declared to be high treason. The schemes meditated by the Hat party were abandoned as impracticable, and the court of Versailles had thus the mortification to find new impediments thrown in its way, at the very moment when victory appeared certain.

As a last effort, the partisans of France made a secret proposal that force should be used to subvert the constitution of Sweden ; but the moderation of Adolphus Frederick would not allow him to countenance that experiment. This obstacle, however, was speedily re-

moved by the death of that excellent prince (February 12, 1771), and the completion of the scheme begun under the father, was accomplished by the bold and artful policy of the son.

Gustavus III., who next ascended the throne, was then in France, having undertaken a journey to that country with a view to obtain the performance of her pecuniary engagements. The acquisition of the regal dignity gave an unexpected success to the negotiation. A promise was obtained from the French court to pay Sweden a million and a half of livres annually, and to furnish the means of supporting the French party at the ensuing diet. Count Scheffer, who had been despatched by the senate to Paris to communicate the intelligence of his late majesty's death, had the address, by representing to Louis XV. the deplorable situation to which the finances of the kingdom were reduced by withholding payment of the subsidies so long due, to procure an order for immediately liquidating a considerable portion of the arrears.

The Swedish states, by the existing law, were required to meet within thirty days of the king's demise; but on account of the prince's absence, the convocation was delayed until the month of June; and during the interval, both parties exerted themselves to secure a majority in the approaching assembly. A new field for intrigue was thus opened up, and so powerfully were the Caps supported by the British and Russian ministers, that when the elections closed, there appeared a considerable majority for that party, among the three orders of the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants; the influence of the nobility preponderated in favour of the opposite faction. Meantime, Gustavus wrote to the senate approving of all the steps they had taken, and assuring them of his intentions to govern according to the laws, without aiming at any constitutional change, or any augmentation of his authority. These pacific assurances he repeated to his uncle the King of Prussia; but the result showed either that he was insincere, or

that he considered himself justified by subsequent events in altering his determination.

At the time of his accession the new monarch was only in his twenty-fifth year ; he possessed abilities that would have reflected lustre on any rank, while his natural endowments were highly cultivated by a finished education. His ambition, which was as great as his talents, wore the semblance of disinterested patriotism ; and his designs upon the liberties of his subjects were disguised under a zeal for their welfare. Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of joy which all classes of the inhabitants testified at his return to Stockholm. His affability and condescension gained the hearts of the people ; he conciliated the poor by listening to their complaints, or promising redress ; and although his liberal professions awakened suspicions in some, the nation generally gave him credit for a sincere and inviolable attachment to the constitution of the kingdom. In this delicate position, and to allow time for maturing his plans, it became necessary for him to retard the proceedings of the states, by throwing every obstacle in the way of their deliberations. Eight months were consumed in fierce discussions concerning the regulations of the " Assurance," or engagement to be signed by the sovereign previous to his coronation. Of these dissensions between the nobles and the other orders the king took advantage, and while secretly fomenting discord, he assumed the appearance and acquired the merit of endeavouring to promote peace. Another point that gave rise to warm debates, was an inquiry into the conduct of the senate ; and as they were known to favour the court interest, the result of the investigation was the deposition of the whole body. This measure, equally impolitic and unjust, was attended with fatal consequences to its authors ; and it was perhaps impossible for them to have taken a step better calculated to accelerate the revolution they were striving to prevent. It attached the expelled senators more warmly to the royal cause, and occasioned general dissatisfaction among the lower orders, who began to

view with disapprobation a form of government that was so ill adapted for the efficient despatch of public business. Gustavus, whose sagacity nothing could escape, did not fail to profit by the errors of his opponents ; and while the states were wrangling about filling up the vacancies in the new administration, he dispersed emissaries over the country to excite discontent, and assembled in the capital a corps of nearly 150 officers, commanded by Colonel Springporten, under pretence of exercising them in military manœuvres, but in fact to sound their dispositions and attach them to his cause.

The discontent of the inhabitants was farther exasperated by an accidental dearth of corn, which the Hats charged entirely, though falsely, to the negligence of the government in not having provided a supply by encouraging the importation of foreign grain. Complaints against the states were echoed from every quarter, and by a dexterous use of these artifices, the people were not only prepared but anxious for a change of masters.

The course of events having now matured the king's revolutionary schemes, means were instantly adopted for carrying them into execution. The affections of the greater part of the officers at Stockholm had already been secured ; and as it was deemed necessary to have coadjutors among the provincial troops, the two royal brothers, Charles and Frederick, during a residence in Scania and Gothland, had succeeded in ingratiating themselves with the soldiers and the people, by the same arts and nearly to the same extent as had already been done in the capital. A pretext only was wanted for assembling the military, and this was easily accomplished through the instrumentality of Captain Hellichius, commandant of the strong fortress of Christianstadt, who undertook the hazardous task of exciting a revolt, and co-operating with the two princes. Intelligence of this insurrection was soon brought to Stockholm by General Rudbeck, grand governor of the city, who had been sent into Scania to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, and counteract the plans of the secret emissaries.

The first act of the states was to proclaim Hellichius a rebel, and to take measures for preventing the ambitious designs which the king was supposed to entertain. In this emergency Gustavus not only maintained an impenetrable dissimulation, but contrived, by his insinuating address, to seduce the night-patrol of burgher cavalry appointed by the senate to preserve the peace of the capital; so that in the course of two days those very troops whom the states had armed for their defence, became converts to the royal cause, and were among the foremost to declare in its favour.

The critical moment having now arrived, his majesty resolved to throw off the mask, and recover by force that power which the states had so long refused. He addressed the military assembled round the palace, detailed to them the unfortunate state of the kingdom, assured them of his anxiety to terminate these disorders, and without difficulty succeeded in obtaining their concurrence (with the exception of Captain Frederick Cederstrom and other two officers) in his efforts to emancipate the crown from the degrading thralldom of factious tyranny, and the corrupting influence of foreign gold. The senators were arrested while preparing to interpose their authority. The secret committee of the states avoided a similar fate by instantly dispersing. The example of the guards and artillery in taking the oath of allegiance, was speedily followed by all the "colleges" (or public offices), both civil and military. As the king paraded the streets on horseback, he found the soldiers and the inhabitants all equally disposed to embrace his cause; and so numerous were his adherents, that not a person was seen without a white handkerchief fastened round his arm, that being the symbol of fidelity which had been agreed upon at the commencement of the enterprise. General Rudbeck and many others of the adverse faction were secured without resistance. The arrest against Hellichius was revoked; and the regiments of Upland and Sudermania, which the states had marched into the capital, were ordered back to their

quarters. Not the slightest disposition was evinced to interrupt or counteract these proceedings, and in less than an hour the king was master of all the military forces in Stockholm. The troops remained during the night under arms, and next day the people flocked in thousands to tender their allegiance.

In addressing the assembled multitudes, Gustavus gave renewed assurances of his earnest desire to preserve the independence of his country, and restore its ancient liberties. As the Swedes were long ruled by foreigners, and had never, since the time of Charles XII., heard their kings speak in the vernacular tongue, they listened to the royal orator with an admiration proportioned to the novelty of the scene. The Hats exulted at the downfall of their antagonists, without reflecting that they could gain nothing by the humiliation of their rivals. The Caps quietly expressed their satisfaction at what had happened, and appeared generally less concerned for the loss of power than anxious to obtain a share of the royal favour. The populace rejoiced at the destruction of a government from which they derived no advantages, and beheld with extreme delight the overthrow of an aristocracy from whom they had experienced only insolence and oppression.

Thus, without a single drop of blood being shed, without even the slightest appearance of violence or disorder, was this memorable revolution achieved ; a few hours accomplished the subversion of a constitution which, half a century before, had been erected as an effectual bulwark against the future despotism of the Swedish monarchs. The deputies of the states, who enjoyed absolute power when the diet met on the 19th of August, next day peaceably subscribed to a plan of government which despoiled them of their authority, and obliged them to return to their respective homes as simple subjects. The king, who had mounted the throne stript almost of every prerogative, a mere puppet in the administration, and embarrassed between two factions which he could neither conciliate nor subdue, rose at once to

the dignity of an independent sovereign, and annihilated with unprecedented facility a political system which had so long degraded the majesty of the crown, and trampled upon the liberties of the people. The revolution had been managed with equal success in the provinces, where every thing was conducted with as little tumult and opposition as in the capital.

To complete this extraordinary enterprise, and obtain the ratification of the diet to the change which had been introduced, the states were summoned by royal proclamation to assemble on the 21st, when the old form of government was to be abolished. To ensure unanimity, the palace was surrounded by a large body of troops, and the court mounted with cannon pointing to the hall where the chambers met. The king, seated on his throne and attended by a numerous band of guards, opened the assembly in an animated address, describing the wretched condition to which party strife and foreign intrigue had reduced the nation. The new constitution was read, and proposed to them for their acceptance. Under existing circumstances, with armed soldiers and loaded artillery at their gates, opposition was hardly to be expected, and of course when his majesty demanded if the state approved of the articles they had heard, he was answered with loud acclamations by all the four orders of the kingdom. One solitary member of the nobles proposed limiting the contributions to a certain number of years ; but the meeting were too obsequious to allow any discussion, and the motion was abandoned.

This remarkable scene concluded with a ceremony not less extraordinary. When the states had signed the new form of government and taken the oaths, the king drew a psalm-book from his pocket, and laying aside his crown he chanted a *Te Deum*, in which he was most devoutly joined by the whole assembly. All classes of his subjects now acquiesced without a murmur, and by the majority of the people he was hailed with gratitude as their deliverer and defender. The senators who had been arrested, including General Pecklin, who was

charged with the command of the city during Rudbeck's absence, swore allegiance, and were not only liberated, but many of them retained in important employments.

One of his first acts was to prohibit, by proclamation, the use of those names which distinguished the different parties in the state, and had been the root of so many bitter misfortunes to Sweden. He likewise abolished the horrid practice of putting criminals to the torture, and appeared anxious to merit the high eulogium which the diet passed upon him as "a king resolved to govern not for his own private advantage, but for that of his subjects." The dismissal of the states finished the business of the revolution; but before breaking up, the speakers of each of the four orders successively addressed the throne, in terms not more remarkable for the censure passed upon themselves than for the profound gratitude, veneration, and fidelity towards their sovereign. The new constitution thus established was comprised in fifty-seven articles, conferring extensive powers on the sovereign, and accepted by the states as a fundamental and irrevocable law, which every Swedish subject was bound to acknowledge and obey as the established form of government. The four houses or orders of which the diet is composed, underwent little alteration.*

The revolution achieved by Gustavus III., however acceptable to the Swedes themselves, was by no means agreeable to some of their neighbours. The Empress of Russia intended to change it, and ordered her minister at Stockholm to take measures for re-establishing the aristocracy and the senate in all their powers and prerogatives, as under the two preceding reigns. In this project she expected the co-operation of his Prussian majesty, as he was bound by treaty with her to support

* The Articles of the new form of Government established at the Revolution of 1772, are given by Coxe in his Appendix. *Travels*, vol. iv. b. 7, c. 4. Append. p. 429. Desmaison, *Hist. de la Dernière Révolution de Suède*. Sheridan's *History of the Revolution*,

the system which had been overturned ; but Frederick, who was too fond of arbitrary power to censure the ambition of his nephew, dissuaded Catherine from resorting to violence ; and as the court of Vienna likewise endeavoured to allay her indignation, the rising storm was happily averted.

Denmark, then under the dominion of Russian influence, viewed with hostile feelings the recent proceedings in Sweden ; and the consequence of this misunderstanding again threatened to disturb the peace of the North. Gustavus resolved to invade Norway, and for that purpose he marched an army to the frontiers ; but his impetuosity soon yielded to the suggestions of prudence and the remonstrances of his uncle. An accommodation was concluded, which restored mutual friendship, and left the Swedish monarch at leisure to direct his attention to the affairs of his own government.

By a singular coincidence in point of time, a revolution happened the same year at Copenhagen, which effected an entire change of administration, without, however, trenching in any way upon the established constitution. Christian VII., who ascended the throne in 1766 (January 14), possessed neither the virtues nor the talents of his father. He was a prince of narrow mind and weak understanding, addicted to dissipation, and incapable of steady attention to business. Before his accession, he had made proposals of marriage to Caroline-Matilda, youngest sister of his Britannic Majesty George III. ; and the offer being accepted, the nuptials were duly solemnized on his obtaining possession of the crown.

The personal charms and amiable manners of the queen, then only in her sixteenth year, soon rendered her popular in Denmark. She is described as the handsomest woman of the court, and well qualified to impart and enjoy happiness, had she been united to a better husband. But the fickle temper and vicious habits of the king destroyed every hope of domestic comfort ; and in 1768, when he set out upon his travels,

more from motives of pleasure than of improvement or the gratification of a laudable curiosity, she was not allowed to be of the party. Accompanied by his favourite Count Holk, he visited the greater part of Europe, and was every where entertained with a respect which posterity will believe to have been paid to his rank rather than his merits. In England, where he sojourned ten months, works of literature were dedicated to him ; and in France he was complimented and honoured with degrees by learned academies.

The circumstances of this journey are memorable from its introducing to his acquaintance the celebrated Struensee, then practising medicine at Altona, who afterwards gained so fatal an ascendancy in the Danish councils. The appointment of physician to the king was immediately conferred upon him ; and as he possessed considerable talents and address, and was ambitious of distinction, he contrived to ingratiate himself with his capricious master in no ordinary degree ; and on their return to Copenhagen, his short services were rewarded with new honours and preferments. He was chosen a privy-councillor, raised to the rank of count, and afterwards constituted first minister of the crown, with almost unlimited power. His brother was made a councillor of justice. Brandt, another adventurer whom he had met in Paris, was restored to his office in the king's bed-chamber, which he had forfeited by having incurred the royal displeasure. Rantzau, also a disgraced Danish minister, who had been his colleague in the editorship of the Altona Journal, was created a count and intrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs.

Struensee was now publicly installed the confidential favourite and adviser of the imbecile monarch ; but his sudden elevation brought his career to a premature close, by a fate at once melancholy and disgraceful. The rapid promotion and unmerited preference shown to a stranger, naturally excited feelings of envy and disgust among the courtiers and nobility, whose ears were already poisoned with scandalous reports through the

secret intrigues of the queen-dowager. The distinctions conferred on this obscure adventurer were by no means of rare occurrence in the history of Denmark. The highest offices in the state had been bestowed on foreigners as well as natives of the meanest origin. For a hundred years the kingdom had been governed by rulers who were unacquainted with its policy, and even ignorant of its language. Among its ablest ministers were Bernstorff and Lynar, the former from Hanover, the latter a Saxon.

The indignation felt at the advancement of an upstart physician to the supreme direction of affairs, arose from other causes than his birth or his profession. A powerful faction existed at court, eager to seize the reins of authority, and most ready to avail themselves of any instrument that could promote their design. The unhappy union of the queen afforded the pretext which her enemies so anxiously sought. As her marriage had been dictated by policy rather than affection, the attachment of the prince (if it ever deserved that name) soon degenerated from a cold formality into cruel disrespect. He did not even treat her with civility; the Russian minister was allowed to insult her with impunity in her own palace; and all who espoused her interest were disgraced for no other offence.

Such was the melancholy situation of the neglected and ill-fated Matilda, when Struensee entered on his administration. From his first introduction, his progress in her favour had been as remarkable as it was in the good opinion of the king; by his insinuating address he effectually gained her confidence, and from pity or gallantry took an interest in her misfortunes. His extraordinary influence over the husband easily enabled him to effect a reconciliation,—an event most desirable in itself, but disastrous in its consequences, as it furnished an occasion to the rival party of aspersing the honour of the queen, and ultimately accomplishing her ruin.

Whether these injurious imputations were founded in truth, or exaggerated into crimes by disappointed malig-

nity, has not been clearly ascertained, as much credit cannot be attached either to the evidence of the witnesses, or the justice of the legal measures adopted to substantiate the guilt. Certain it is, however, that the partiality which she evinced towards Struensee exceeded, in appearance at least, the bounds of propriety and public decorum. Not only in private, but at theatres, assemblies, and even in the streets of Copenhagen, her preference for the count was so marked as to betray a great want of prudence, and to confirm suspicions which otherwise might have been disbelieved. Sometimes she rode out with him, completely habited in male attire, to humour the caprice of the king; and although this disguise was neither uncommon nor reckoned unbecoming in Northern manners, and implied no immodesty of deportment, yet it tended to increase the clamour and scandal which other indiscretions had excited.

Of all these improprieties Christian remained a passive and indifferent spectator. The state of apathy and premature dotage into which he had sunk, rendered him not only callous to the licentiousness of his court, but incapable of taking any concern in the government. The administration devolved entirely on the queen, the new premier, and their adherents. In the important office to which he was so suddenly raised, Struensee showed greater abilities than might have been augured from his dissipated habits and political inexperience. Several of his public measures were calculated to improve and aggrandize the state over which he presided; others were unadvised, illiberal, and unpopular. The only foreign business that remained unsettled at his accession to power, was the negotiation with Russia concerning her pretensions to part of Holstein. By the advice of Rantzau, who in his exile had quarrelled with the Imperial government, the count was induced to delay the execution of the pacific convention proposed by Bernstorff, and to aim at establishing the influence of France and Sweden at Copenhagen; but the conse-

quences of this imprudent resolution were averted by the shortness of his administration.

His internal policy was characterized by weakness and presumption. He incurred the just resentment of the nobles, by suppressing the privy-council ; by dissolving the guards, he irritated the military and increased the number of his enemies ; by repealing a very ancient law inflicting capital punishment on adultery, he offended the moral sensibilities of the people, who naturally regarded this step as an inlet to those fashionable dissipations which had begun to corrupt the court, and of which he himself stood forth the avowed patron and the guilty partaker. Some of his reforms, however, were judicious and beneficial. He abolished the torture, diminished the public expenditure, obtained the emancipation of the enslaved peasantry, encouraged arts and industry, and granted to Calvinists, Moravians, and even Roman Catholics, the free exercise of their religious worship. His own creed was the prevailing infidelity of the times, which he had imbibed from the French philosophers ; and being a professed libertine, he sought to propagate, by his example, a universal laxity among the people in morals as well as in faith.

The downfall of Struensee, however, must be imputed more to his political innovations than his irreligion or his private immoralities. When appointed secretary to the cabinet, he was empowered to commit the king's verbal orders to writing, and even to execute them, if very urgent, without the royal signature ; on condition, however, that they should be laid weekly before the prince for his rejection or confirmation. This liberty was indeed practised both before and after his administration ; but as all his actions were narrowly watched by the opposite faction, this proceeding, which he might easily have avoided, and which infringed less on the power of the crown than on the courtesy due to his colleagues, was made the signal for raising a clamour against him as a usurper of the sovereign prerogative. The liberty which he had granted to the press, with a

view to render himself popular, had now the contrary effect, by furnishing his adversaries with an instrument for exposing his presumptuous ambition, and vilifying his character. When an order for disembodiment of five companies of the guards, and incorporating them with other regiments, was issued, the soldiers refused to obey; the garrison and the people joined the refractory troops, a sanguinary tumult arose, and the favourite minister thus saw himself in danger of being hurled from the seat of authority. A mutiny of Norwegian seamen increased his alarm, and he would perhaps have withdrawn from Denmark had not the queen insisted on his braving the storm.

The nobles whom he had depressed, sought to effect a change of administration under pretext of curbing his exorbitant power. Juliana Maria, and her son Prince Frederick, were at the head of the hostile party. A plot was formed to apprehend the count and his chief associates. The principal actors in this revolutionary scene were Rantzau, who was induced to desert his former benefactor, and Colonel Koller Banner, whose influence among the soldiers was sufficient to attach a considerable number of them to their cause. Several of Struensee's friends warned him of his danger, but from carelessness or magnanimity he neglected their admonitions. The plotters embraced the opportunity of a masked ball (January 15) to seize their victims; when an order for arresting the premier was obtained from the king, on the allegation of a conspiracy against his person and government. At the conclusion of the masquerade, Colonel Banner entered the chamber of the count, where he found him asleep and unprovided with the means of resistance. The unfortunate prisoner submitted quietly; and being conveyed in a coach to the citadel, he was imprisoned and loaded with irons. His friend Brandt, with various others of their associates, were arrested at the same time, and put under close confinement. Early next morning the queen, while reposing unconscious of danger, was apprehended by Rantzau and three officers with drawn swords, who rushed into her bed-chamber and hurried her away, half-dressed and struggling for liberty,

to the fortress of Cronborg; the only companions allowed to attend her being an English lady of her suite, and her infant daughter Louisa.

The victorious faction exulted with insolent triumph over the fall of their rivals. To induce a belief that the king acquiesced in this change of affairs, he was paraded through the streets of the city in a carriage drawn by eight milk-white horses. A general illumination gratified the mob; and except the plunder of a few houses, the usurpation of the queen-dowager and her partisans caused no public commotion. The conspirators distributed among themselves the principal offices of the administration; and when these arrangements had been completed, judicial proceedings were instituted against the prisoners. Struensee and Brandt were tried by a special commission, the leading members of which were the chiefs of the conspiracy. An indecent haste and reckless disregard for justice characterized the whole investigation. The charges were produced on the 21st of April, sentence of death was pronounced on the 25th, approved by the king on the 27th, and carried into execution on the 28th. Both victims were beheaded on the same scaffold, after having their right hands cut off, and evincing an example of Christian resignation which bore a striking contrast to the profligacy of their lives.*

A suit of divorce was instituted against the queen, on the ground of criminal familiarity with the count, who had himself been convicted of high treason for that supposed connexion. The evidence against her consisted in a number of criminative circumstances (none of them incapable of an innocent construction) sworn to by her attendants, who were employed as spies upon her con-

* The particulars of the administration and catastrophe of Count Struensee are detailed in the "*Mémoires de M. Falkenskiold, Officier-général dans le service de S. M. Danoise.*" An account of his libertinism, conversion, and execution, is given in the interesting "*Narrative*" of Bishop Munter of Copenhagen, the excellent and pious clergyman who attended him during his imprisonment. To this volume is annexed a brief account of the last moments of his friend and fellow-sufferer Brandt. See also Crichton's *Converts from Infidelity*, vol. i.

duct. She admitted having been guilty of much indiscretion, but denied in her dying moments that she had ever been an unfaithful wife. Testimony obtained by such means as were resorted to for extorting confessions from the unhappy princess, can deserve little credit ; yet upon such evidence did the extraordinary tribunal that took cognizance of the cause pronounce sentence of divorce ; and it was even proposed to try her on a capital charge, with a view to set aside her offspring in favour of Prince Frederick, son of Juliana Maria.

The fate of Matilda was for some time doubtful, and she was indebted for the comparative leniency of her treatment, to the well-timed remonstrance of Sir R. Murray, and her near alliance with the British crown. It was proposed to immure her for life in some one of the state prisons, and the sequestered fortress of Aalborg, in the peninsula of Jutland, was destined for her reception. But the spirited intercession of George III. procured her a reprieve from this dreary captivity, and the Castle of Zell in Hanover was fixed on for her future residence. On the deck of the vessel that conveyed her from Cronborg to Stade, she sat with her eyes fixed on the distant walls that contained her infant daughter, the dearest object of her affections, until darkness veiled them from her sight. In her new abode she lived in a style of comfort that mitigated, in some degree, her dismal reverse of fortune. The liberality of her brother supplied her with pecuniary resources, and provided her a suitable household composed chiefly of Hanoverian nobility. In this retirement she continued nearly three years, when a putrid fever, which the skill of Zimmerman could not arrest, cut her off in the 24th year of her age.

Meantime the whole power of the state was vested in the queen-dowager ; the administration, conducted entirely in subservience to her views, was ostensibly carried on in the name of Christian VII., whose mental incapacity was not formally recognised until his son, Prince Frederick, became associated with him in the government. The younger Bernstorff was elevated to the station of prime minister, and by his prudent management, the

kingdom enjoyed a considerable interval of peace and prosperity. The King of Prussia, through the influence of his cousin, acquired an almost absolute sway in the Danish cabinet, and at his instigation the direction of foreign affairs inclined to the views of France, in opposition to the interests of England.

In the American contest, the Northern states had avoided all hostile interference; but as the maritime power of Great Britain rendered her an object of envy and even of apprehension to these nations, an association, called the Armed Neutrality, was formed under the auspices of Russia, Prussia, and France, for checking her supposed encroachments, and protecting the commerce of the North from the annoyances and restrictions to which it had been exposed during the war, in consequence of the right of search claimed and exercised by the belligerent powers.* In this league the kings of Denmark and Sweden readily acquiesced, and fleets were fitted out by the confederates for enforcing the system which they had adopted. Count Bernstorff was the only individual in the ministry, who had the courage to oppose a measure so prejudicial to the interests of England, and vainly attempted to nullify the effects of the treaty by stipulating that Denmark should maintain her former alliance. His patriotic conduct exasperated the French and Prussian party, and as he refused to assent to the

* The contracting parties of this association pledged themselves to maintain the principle, "that free ships make free goods, with the exception of arms and munitions of war"—a principle inconsistent with the right hitherto acknowledged as belonging to belligerent powers, of searching the vessels of neutral states. In order to prevent the French and Spaniards from procuring wood for shipbuilding and other naval stores, which they obtained readily from the North during the American war, England had taken advantage of her maritime superiority by seizing, without distinction, merchant vessels under a neutral flag, and confiscating all articles found on board belonging to the subjects of hostile countries. It was to put a stop to this practice that the czarina issued her manifesto (Feb. 1780), informing France and England of her intention to maintain free intercourse for all effects belonging to the subjects of belligerent nations, excepting only genuine warlike stores, and whatever might be reported contraband goods.—*Tooke's Life of Catherine II.*, vol. ii. Martens, tom. ii. p. 74–110. Gortz, *Précis sur la Neutralité Armée*.

neutrality on any other than these honourable terms, he was dismissed from office, and replaced by Guldberg, who acted in the capacity of private secretary to the king.

The retirement of this conscientious minister secured to the queen-dowager and her partisans an unlimited control over public affairs. In order to extend their influence and authority, the ruling faction introduced a change in the usual mode of issuing the royal mandates, which gave them entire possession of the sovereign power. The privy-council, where the general business of the government had hitherto been transacted, was superseded by a kind of private cabinet, in which the king issued his orders personally, instead of signing as formerly the different edicts and decrees, after they had passed regularly through the several boards of finance, marine, and commerce. The members of this mock junto usurped the whole functions of the administration; and as the imbecile monarch was little else than a prisoner in their hands, they could obtain his signature on all occasions, and to any measures they chose to propose. The only remedy for these abuses consisted in the admission of the young Prince Frederick into the privy-council, and as he was now of age to exercise his privilege, he was sworn a member of that body (April 14, 1784), after being confirmed in presence of the king and court.

The talents displayed by his royal highness soon effected a revolution in the administration, as salutary as it was unexpected. Through his firmness and dexterity the privy-council was dissolved as unworthy the confidence of the nation, and a new one appointed. Count Bernstorff and his associates were recalled; the fictitious use of the king's signature was abolished, and thus an inexperienced youth, only in his sixteenth year, baffled the opposition and the artifice of veterans in court intrigue; the power of the dowager was completely subverted; and with such consummate prudence was the whole transaction accomplished, that not the slightest suspicion of a change was entertained in any quarter, nor was the project betrayed although secretly imparted to nearly a dozen persons.

Frederick, now associated in the government, exercised his authority with a moderation, firmness, and equity, that put down all factious opposition, and procured him the general support of the aristocracy and the people. He conferred a pension of 5000 rix-dollars on the ex-minister Guldberg, and promoted his own adherents, Bernstorff, Rathlow, Hut, Shimmelman, and De Bulow, to the principal offices in court and state. Unwilling to relinquish the advantages of peace, he refused to join Gustavus III. in the military operations which he had commenced (July 1788) against Russia, and even threatened, in consequence of the old treaty of alliance with the court of St Petersburg, to send the Prince of Hesse-Cassel to invade Sweden on the side of Norway. The disappointed monarch now turned his resentment against the Danes; when Frederick appeared with an army of Norwegians on the Swedish frontier, seized Stronstad, and would have taken Gottenborg, had it not been saved by the king's arrival with 3000 brave Dalecarlians, upon whose loyalty he had thrown himself when deserted by his nobles and refractory troops.

At this stage of the campaign, Great Britain, Prussia, and Holland, then united in a treaty of mutual alliance, interposed their mediation, and the two Northern sovereigns were reluctantly compelled to sign a truce (1789) which put a stop to the progress of hostilities, and restored matters to their former position. The King of Sweden found his power under the new government less absolute than he had anticipated, and was obliged, within six years after his emancipation in 1772, to summon the states in consequence of a memorial from the nobles, alleging certain irregularities in his management of public affairs. In his speech delivered on that occasion, he avowed his undiminished attachment to the constitution, remonstrated against the various complaints unjustly levelled at his administration, and under pretext of defeating the intentions of those evil-designing persons who wished to create a misunderstanding between them, he immediately dissolved the diet. Some doubts respecting the intentions of the Russian empress prompted him in

the summer of 1777 to pay an unexpected visit to the court of St Petersburg. He had repeated interviews with the czarina, who entertained him with splendid festivities; but he neither penetrated her designs nor conciliated her regard. At her request he afterwards joined the armed neutrality, on the principles established in her declaration, for the purpose of protecting, by means of convoys, their commerce and navigation against foreign aggression; but as the friendship between these two powers was insincere, it proved of short duration.

New disputes had arisen (1787) with the Porte, which ended in a proclamation of war against Russia, and implicated Gustavus in the quarrel. Hostilities soon followed; the Swedes advanced into Finland, and took several small towns, whilst a squadron of twenty ships of the line and ten frigates, under the Duke of Sudermania, brother to the king, appeared off Cronstadt, and threw the city of St Petersburg into a state of great consternation. The duke then proceeded in quest of the Russian fleet commanded by Admiral Greig, consisting of only seventeen sail, but furnished with a much greater weight of metal. A furious engagement took place near the Isle of Hoogland (May 1789), in which both sides fought with equal advantage. The Swedish arms were unsuccessful by land, where the measures of the king were disconcerted by an unforeseen event. After he had made his dispositions for attacking the city of Fredericksham, the capture of which might have opened to him the gates of the Russian capital, several of the officers refused to march beyond the limit of their own territory, alleging as a reason, that the constitution of the kingdom would not permit them to be accessary to a foreign war, which the nation had not sanctioned. In vain did Gustavus remonstrate against that pretext; he ordered the malecontents to be arrested, and sent to Stockholm to be tried according to the laws of their country; but their example had occasioned the defection of a great part of the troops. This result put an end to the Finland expedition, and afforded the enemy leisure to put themselves in a state of defence.

It was in consequence of this attack on the part of Sweden, that the empress claimed the assistance which Denmark owed her in virtue of the alliance which subsisted between the two states. The Danes were obliged to fit out an armament, with which they attacked and overrun the province of Bahus, marched into West Gothland, and were laying siege to Gottenborg, when the armistice was concluded which compelled them to suspend their hostile operations. Gustavus submitted with reluctance to a truce which precluded the gratification of his revenge, without reflecting on the perils which he had escaped. Not long afterwards he convened the states, laid before them the motives that induced him to attack Russia, obtained from a majority of the four houses an approval of his conduct, and supplies for continuing the war.

The failure of the late expedition, on the pretext that the king had no power to carry on offensive hostilities without the consent of the diet, convinced his majesty that he could never hope for success until that objection was removed by some change in the constitution. Accordingly he proposed a measure, under the title of the Act of Safety, claiming to himself the prerogative of declaring war and making peace, and introducing several alterations in the new form of government. The three orders of the clergy, burghers, and peasants, acceded to this proposal ; but the nobles, still smarting under their former disappointment, persisted in their opposition, and refused to register it as the decision of the assembly.

Gustavus had now recourse to an arbitrary proceeding, which conferred additional authority on the crown without offending the nation. He ordered the refractory portion of the nobles to be arrested, and having summoned the states to his palace, he remonstrated with them on the injurious consequences of delay ; and since they were aware, that, by the resolutions of the diet of 1786, every future enactment tending to explain the constitution (and such he regarded the Act of Safety) should become law, if sanctioned by a plurality of the states, he considered Count Levenhaupt, president of the

nobility, fully competent to give assent in the name of his order. In this view the count concurred, and immediately affixed his signature. These strong measures could not have passed without the concurrence of the other houses, and the general approbation of the people.

To diminish the influence of the nobles still more, the king abolished the senate, which, although deprived of its powers by the revolution of 1772, was reckoned the principal support of the aristocratical interest, and the main channel of political and judicial discussion. Instead of this body, whose consent was necessary to give force to the acts and decrees of the crown, he appointed a new council, divided into two departments, the one called the court of revision, consisting of six nobles and as many commoners, forming the supreme tribunal of judicature, without appeal; and the other, composed of eight nobles and four commoners, to take cognizance of inferior matters.*

Armed with increased prerogatives, Gustavus resumed the war against Russia. Relying on the loyalty of his subjects, to whose protection he intrusted his family, and aided by pecuniary supplies from the Turkish sultan, he commenced hostilities in Finland, and obtained some advantage over the Muscovites in an obstinate encounter. On another occasion, his troops remained masters of the field, but he was afterwards compelled to retreat within his own frontiers. The Duke of Sudermania met the enemy's fleet on its way from Revel to join another squadron; but he could neither force them to an engagement, nor prevent the intended junction. On both sides, the advantages of the campaign were nearly equal; and when the king again entered Finland, he was attended along the coast by a flotilla, which was attacked and repulsed by a superior force under the Prince of Nassau. The hopes of Gustavus were again blighted; but better fortune awaited the Swedes during the remainder of the war.

* Annual Register, vol. xxxi. Heeren, vol. ii. period iii p. 225.

A body of only 3000 men, commanded by the Prince of Anhalt, penetrated into the country within two days' march of the capital, and defended Karnankoski, a fort on the borders of the lake Saima against an army of 10,000 Russians under General Ingelstrom ; the assailants, of whom 2000 fell in the action, were compelled to retreat, but the victors purchased their triumph with the life of their gallant commander. Considerable success likewise attended their maritime operations ; for while the king encountered a fleet of the enemy's galleys and gun-boats near Fredericksham, and captured or destroyed about forty vessels, his brother entered the harbour of Revel, and was only prevented by a violent storm from demolishing that great naval arsenal with all the ships and magazines. Being afterwards attacked by two Russian squadrons in front and rear, he extricated himself with great courage and skill ; the two brothers then formed a junction, and took up a position near the Bay of Viborg, where Gustavus had made a fruitless attempt to destroy a coasting flotilla. There they were again enclosed by a superior force, so that their retreat either by land or sea became difficult and dangerous. On each side of a strait through which their passage lay, were two Russian ships of the line, which the duke endeavoured to burn, but in the attempt two of his own blew up, and in the confusion that ensued four more struck upon the rocks and were taken. A great number of small vessels or galleys, with their crews, fell into the hands of the enemy (July 3) before the Swedes could effect their escape.

But the genius of Gustavus soon repaired his shattered forces, and obtained full compensation for the disaster off Viborg. Within a few days he encountered the enemy near Svenkasund (July 9, 10) ; and after an obstinate engagement, he gained a decisive victory over a fleet which far outnumbered his own, having captured or destroyed forty-two ships, killed 4000 men, and taken as many prisoners. Great bravery was displayed in the contest ; the hereditary valour of

the Swedes being stimulated by the heroic example of Sir Sidney Smith and other British officers.*

This tremendous blow, and the energetic prowess of her adversary, alarmed the czarina, who now saw herself abandoned by Austria, and threatened both by England and Prussia. The Swedish monarch, on the other hand, being deserted by the courts of London and Berlin, who had drawn him into the war, was terrified that the Russians should invade his dominions. These circumstances tended to accelerate negotiations between the two belligerent powers; an armistice being proposed by Catherine, the conditions of which were mutually accepted, peace was soon after concluded on the plain of Werela (Aug. 14, 1790), near the river Kymen, between the advanced posts of the two camps; a reciprocal cession of conquests was agreed to, and the limits of both states were re-established according to the provisions of former treaties. The war with the Porte, which had been distinguished by the splendid victories of Suwarrow and Potemkin, was brought to a close, after a bloody contest of four years, by the peace of Jassy (Jan. 9, 1792), which fixed the Dniester as the perpetual boundary between the Russian and Turkish empires, and established the dominion of the czars on the Black Sea, where Catherine founded the ports of Cherson and Odessa.†

All the petty commotions on the Continent were now completely obscured by the dense cloud of sanguinary desolation that had burst forth with appalling violence in the capital of France. That scene of terror and bloodshed the Scandinavian kingdoms for some time

* To express his sense of the share which the brave Englishman had in the success of the day, Gustavus knighted him on the spot with the grand cross of the noble order of the Sword. Not satisfied with this, he asked Sir Sidney what he should give him as a remembrancer of Svenkasund? the knight replied, "Your majesty's picture."—"No, my brave friend," said the king, "you shall have your own," and next day he sent him a fine portrait of Charles XII.; an ingenious compliment, and highly flattering to the British hero.—Porter's Travels, vol. ii. p. 148.

† Martens, tom. iii. p. 175; tom. v. p. 53-67. Hist. des Traités de Paix refondue, tome xiv. p. 100.

witnessed only at a distance : Denmark had resolved to observe an impartial neutrality, and an untimely fate prevented Gustavus from joining in the European convention that was afterwards formed to check the career of republican fury.

Both the Swedish and Prussian monarchs were anxious to support the unfortunate Louis XVI. in all his ancient authority ; and on the 20th of July (1791) a coalition of foreign sovereigns was formed at Pilnitz, with a view to extricate the royal family of France, and arrest the common danger, of which Gustavus was the first that took and gave the alarm. It was natural that a prince of his character, fond of regal power, should burn with an eager desire to oppose by arms the progress of the revolution. The artful czarina flattered these chivalrous propensities, by representing him as the only general worthy to head a northern confederacy against France ; and as they entertained similar sentiments as to the necessity of such a combination, a defensive alliance was concluded (Oct. 19), and a plan of operations concerted, of which he was to take the supreme direction. His proposal was to make a descent on the coast of Normandy with 36,000 Swedes and Russians, and march instantly to Paris ; while the different frontiers were to be invaded by the troops of Austria, Sardinia, and the other allied states.

In this bold but romantic scheme, which he had concocted with the Marquis de Bouillé, he was encouraged by the King of Spain, who had promised to make a hostile demonstration at the same time with an army of 20,000 men on the side of the Pyrenees. In contemplation of the enterprise being carried into effect, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded (Feb. 7, 1792) between Sweden and Austria, which neither of the contracting parties lived to fulfil. Leopold expired on the 1st of March, leaving his son Francis II. to inherit his extensive dominions ; and in a fortnight after, his Swedish majesty was assassinated.

The particulars of that fatal catastrophe have been detailed with great minuteness, although different causes

are assigned for the motives that led to the perpetration of the murder. Some writers have attributed it to the agency of the Parisian Jacobins, others to the sect of the *Illuminati*, whose object was by clandestine acts to overturn all government and religion, under the specious pretext of restoring mankind to their primitive state of natural freedom and equality. In Sweden it was very generally ascribed to the king's own relations; and a belief long prevailed, that one of them most nearly interested in its consequences might have averted the bloody deed, of which the actual perpetrator was alleged to be but a subordinate instrument in the hands of more guilty confederates.

What share foreign influence may have had in that tragical event, it is perhaps impossible to ascertain; but nobody who reflects on the changes subsequently introduced into the government, can fail to discover a satisfactory explanation of the plot, in the brooding discontent of the Swedish nobility. The revolution of 1772, and the arbitrary proceedings of Gustavus at the last two diets, stirred up many disaffected spirits among persons of the first rank and character in the nation. The war in Finland, and the treatment of the refractory officers, tended still more to exasperate these dissensions, and at the meeting of the states in 1789 the elements of the conspiracy seemed ready to explode.

In that assembly a law was passed extending certain privileges, which the nobles exclusively enjoyed, to all permanent inhabitants of the kingdom. Keen disputes arose in consequence of a demand for military supplies, which ended in the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders of the aristocratic faction, amongst whom were Counts Brahe, Fersen, Horn, and other individuals immediately concerned in the assassination. This bold step inflamed the resentment of the nobility; Count Ribbing and other conspirators resigned their places; the ladies deserted the drawing-rooms; and the places of public amusement were abandoned. Matters were at length compromised so far that the necessary supplies were granted, and the prisoners set at liberty. The last act of the assembly

was the abolition of the senate,—a step peculiarly obnoxious to the aristocracy.

The determination of Gustavus to invade France had obliged him to summon hastily another diet in the commencement of the year 1792. Every precaution was taken to defeat opposition ; the states were assembled at Gefle,—a remote situation on the Bothnic Gulf ; their deliberations were overawed by the presence of the military ; and not a word of accusation was uttered against the king for his alleged infractions of the constitution. The exhausted state of the country, however, prevented him from obtaining more than one-half of the supplies which he demanded for the war, and on the 24th of February the diet was dissolved. The plot against his life had then been completely organized, and a favourable opportunity was only wanted for striking the deadly blow. The design of the conspirators had been repeatedly frustrated ; but it was at length agreed to make the attempt at a masked ball, which was fixed to take place on the 16th of March at the opera-house.

While the fatal sword was impending over his devoted head, he received an anonymous warning of his danger in a letter, advising him to consult his safety by avoiding for a month all public amusements, and especially by absenting himself from the masquerade of that evening. This intimation the king, with more courage than prudence, disregarded ; he entered the ball-room late, and after sitting for a considerable time in a box with Count D'Essex, apparently to ascertain whether or not there was any cause of apprehension, he rose and mingled freely with the crowd. When preparing to retire with the Prussian ambassador, he was surrounded by several persons in masks, one of whom fired a pistol, the contents of which entered his back near the groin. A scene of indescribable confusion instantly followed. Amidst the general tumult and alarm, the conspirators had time to withdraw to other parts of the room ; but one of them had previously dropped the pistol and a dagger upon the spot where the prince had stood, dressed in a loose black domino, and leaning, from the pressure of

the heat, against one of the side-scenes. The doors were immediately closed, and an order given for all the company to unmask ; but none appeared to evince particular symptoms of guilt. The king imagined at first that he had fallen a victim to French machinations ; he was conveyed to his apartment, and had his wound examined and dressed by the most eminent surgeons, who gave favourable hopes of his majesty's recovery.

Next day precautions were taken to discover the murderers ; suspicions naturally fell upon such of the nobles as had been notorious for their opposition to the measures of the court. The anonymous letter was traced to Colonel Liljehorn, a major in the guards, who was instantly apprehended. A gunsmith recognised the pistols, having repaired them a short time previously for a nobleman named Ankarstroem, a captain in the army ; and the cutler that made the dagger referred at once to the same individual as the owner. The assassin was taken into custody, and confessed, with an air of triumph, that he was the person "who had endeavoured to liberate his country from a monster and a tyrant." With such resolute coolness had he perpetrated the atrocious deed, that, before firing, he placed his hand upon the king's back, in order to make sure of his victim.

Counts Horn and Ribbing, Barons Pechlin, Ehrensvard, Hartsmandorf, Von Engerström, and others, were implicated as accomplices ; but from the confession of Ankarstroem it appeared that he was the leading actor, though not perhaps the real author of the conspiracy. He admitted having concerted a plan with Count Horn for carrying off the king by night from his villa of Haga, where he usually slept. It was next proposed to assassinate him in the theatre on the 16th of January ; and subsequently at the diet of Gefle ; but none of these desperate projects succeeded. Besides the public grounds already enumerated, as incentives for this plot, he avowed certain private misfortunes as the cause of his resentment against his majesty, and among these, a criminal prosecution to which he had been subjected.

After a full and impartial trial, the regicide was con-

demned to be publicly whipped on three successive days, and then exposed to the view of the people, with an iron chain round his neck, upon a scaffold erected in front of the senate-house. All this ignominy he bore with apparent calmness and indifference. Upon the fourth day his right hand was cut off, after which he was beheaded, and his body impaled upon wheels in different quarters of the city.

For twelve days the king lingered in a state of great torment. During his illness, and particularly when informed that his wound was mortal, he continued to display that unshaken courage which he had manifested on every occasion during his life. He cordially received and forgave several of the conspirators, who had come to inquire after his health. In the midst of his agonies he prayed that the lives of his assassins might be spared, and seemed pleased with the hope that his death might put an end to party animosities. His last hours were devoted to the interests of his kingdom, and the arrangement of public and family affairs. He appointed his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, sole regent, until his son, then a youth of fourteen, should have attained his eighteenth year. Mortification of his wounds having ensued, the royal sufferer died (March 27), with the fortitude and resignation of a Christian. On opening the body, a square piece of lead and two rusty nails were found lodged within the ribs, which his medical attendants had been unable to extract.

It has been remarked, in corroboration of the statement that the conspirators were part of his own household, that little desire was manifested by the government either to avenge his death or to do justice to his memory. Of all the individuals known to have been concerned as accomplices, Ankarstroem alone was visited with the extreme rigour of the law; the rest being sentenced to the mitigated penalties of imprisonment, exile, confiscation, or forfeiture of rank. Public amusements were resumed; and within four months after the murder, the opera-house was again opened, and crowded by the court with its usual gayety.

This unfortunate prince expired at the age of 46, in

the 21st year of his reign. His character was of a mixed quality, participating of the heroic and the selfish; ambition and vanity being his two ruling passions. Aspiring with incessant ardour to an illustrious name among European sovereigns, he was emulous to rival Charles XII. in military renown, and Louis XIV. in the splendour and munificence of his reign. With this view he instituted societies, patronized learning and the arts, and extended to poets, musicians, and painters, no ordinary share of his favour and protection. Like his maternal uncle, Frederick the Great, he coveted the glory of being an author as well as a warrior. Some of his dramatic compositions were repeatedly produced on the stage, and are said to have possessed very considerable literary merit. He was in the habit of opening the different academies of the sciences and belles lettres with inaugural orations, which displayed both a correct taste and an extensive acquaintance in various departments of knowledge. It is seldom that kings become artificers in brass and iron; but it is recorded of Gustavus that he excelled as a locksmith, and frequently exercised his mechanical skill in a forge and workshop, completely fitted up with the necessary apparatus. He paid attention to the dress, as well as to the literature and science of his native country; the national habit which he introduced resembled the old Spanish costume,—a fantastic change, said to have been suggested to him by the Empress Catherine, when he visited her at St Petersburg, with the secret design of weakening a formidable enemy, by embroiling him in disputes with his own subjects. The Swedes, however, had too much loyalty and prudence to quarrel with their sovereign about the fashion of a coat, and reluctantly adopted a mode of attire which was alien to the customs of the North, and which Gustavus seems to have prescribed merely from a wish to augment the pomp and etiquette attendant on royalty.*

* Annual Register, vol. xxxiv. Appendix. Coxe's Travels, vol. iv. chap. i. Memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé. Voyage au Nord de l'Europe, tome ii. Hist. de l'Assassination de Gustave III. par un Témoin Oculaire. Clarke's Travels, vol. ix. p. 194-203.

The crown-prince being only in his fourteenth year, the reins of government were intrusted to the Duke of Sudermania. The mild and judicious measures of the regent preserved the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, while his attention to economy and domestic manufactures revived the dormant spirit of industry among the people. In consequence of this pacific policy, the hostile intentions of the late king towards France were abandoned. Happily Denmark coincided with Sweden in resolving to avoid all participation in the revolutionary contests; and a treaty was concluded between them (March 17, 1794), by which they agreed to protect the freedom of commerce in the Baltic, on the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780; its waters were declared to be absolutely inaccessible to the fleets of the belligerent states; and a combined squadron of sixteen sail of the line was equipped, for the purpose of carrying into effect the several provisions of the convention. The regent cultivated successfully the friendship of all the powers at war, except Russia. Unable to overthrow him by the seditious machinations of the Baron von Armfeldt, the artful czarina endeavoured to secure the attachment of the young prince by marrying him to her granddaughter, Alexandrina Paulowna, whose charms and virtues he admired; but the match was prevented in consequence of the empress claiming for the queen the free exercise of her religion, which the duke alleged to be incompatible with the laws of Sweden. In 1796, Gustavus IV., having attained his majority, ascended the throne. His gentle manners and pacific dispositions, at first gave presage of a tranquil and happy reign, but his marriage with the Princess Frederica of Baden (1797), whose sister the Emperor Alexander had espoused, brought him under the control of Russian influence, and ultimately involved him in that disastrous conflict which the sagacity of his uncle had avoided.

CHAPTER V.

Participation of the Northern Kingdoms in the French Revolutionary Wars, A. D. 1798—1810.

Pacific Policy of Denmark—Disputes arising out of the Armed Neutrality—Northern Confederacy against Great Britain—Seizure of Swedish and Danish Vessels by English Cruisers—Hostile Preparations of the Baltic States—Critical Situation of England—Appearance of the British Squadron in the Sound—Battle of Copenhagen and Destruction of the Danish Fleet—Restoration of Peace—Change in the Policy of Russia—Alarm at the increasing Power of France—Preparations for opposing her Encroachments—Ardour of Gustavus IV. in the Cause—General Coalition against Bonaparte—Confederation of the Rhine—Victories of Napoleon—Peace of Tilsit—War between Sweden and France—Conduct of Gustavus in Pomerania—Siege of Stralsund and Retreat of the Swedes—Neutrality of Denmark—Causes of the Second British Expedition to Copenhagen—Bombardment of the City, and Capture of the Fleet—Hostilities with England and Sweden—Invasion of Finland by the Russians—Evacuation of the whole Province by the Swedes—Arrival of a British Auxiliary Force under Sir John Moore—Operations on the Frontier of Norway—Refusal of Gustavus to make Peace with France—His Abdication and Exile—Duke of Sudermania elected King—Changes in the Government and Constitution—Renewal of Hostilities with the Czar—Peace of Fredericksham and Annexation of Finland to Russia—Treaty of Jonkoping between Sweden and Denmark—Death of the Prince of Augustenburg, Heir to the Swedish Throne.

DENMARK, which had so long enjoyed the blessings of repose, showed a prudent aversion to mingle in the revolutionary conflicts then raging over all Europe. Yet, by a singular turn of fortune, this pacific kingdom was the first of the Anti-Gallican confederates that was embroiled in actual hostilities with Great Britain,—the moving principle of the original coalitions against

France,—and ultimately suffered more extensive injury from the effects of the war than any other of the Northern powers. The causes that led to this unfortunate collision between these two states arose from a misunderstanding in the interpretation of the maritime law, promulgated by Russia in 1780, respecting the right of visitation and search in the case of neutral vessels. By that law, the privileges which England and other maritime powers had exercised for centuries were restrained. It had been adopted by Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, who bound themselves by treaty not only to obey but to enforce it upon all other nations, and particularly upon Great Britain. Yet ten years did not elapse, until the authors of that new system found it convenient to violate their own regulations, and even to promote the schemes of Napoleon for organizing a Northern confederacy against England. The hostile disposition of the Swedish court was evinced in repeated acts of assistance to the enemy. A fleet of merchantmen trading to the ports of France was taken in January 1798 by some British cruisers, and condemned, with their cargoes, in the Admiralty-court at London, by Sir William Scott, for refusing to submit to visitation and search. Another rencounter with a Swedish brigantine happened (September 4, 1800) in the harbour of Barcelona, which was then blockaded by two English men-of-war. The government of Stockholm resented this interference, as an insult offered to a neutral flag ; but no active measures were taken to obtain reparation.

The same hostile feelings towards Britain were manifested by Denmark ; but neither of these states would have ventured to provoke a quarrel, had they not been secretly instigated by the Czar Paul I., who felt indignant at the refusal of England to put him in possession of Malta. Certain other incidents occurred, which converted this lurking hatred into acts of aggression. In the month of December 1799, a skirmish with a Danish frigate, conveying a fleet of merchantmen, took place near Gibraltar, in consequence of her refusing to be searched by the British ships on that station. Lord Keith, the

English admiral in the Mediterranean, requested the commander, Captain Von Dockum, to show his instructions, that he might ascertain whether they authorized his resistance to the usual examination; but the Dane declined to comply, alleging that he was forbidden to permit his convoy to be searched, and that in firing on the English boats, he was only fulfilling his orders. The affair was represented to the government at Copenhagen by Mr Merry, the British envoy, and adjusted without difficulty.

A more serious collision, however, originating in the same cause, soon followed. Another Danish frigate, the *Freya*, in attempting to defend her convoy from the search of the English cruisers at the mouth of the Channel (July 25); provoked an engagement which occasioned loss of life on both sides. The frigate and the convoy were seized and carried into the Downs, when the commander, Captain Crab, was ordered to draw up a report of the whole transaction. As some apprehension was entertained that, in the existing temper of the Northern powers, this incident might lead to a renewal of the armed neutrality and an extension of the war, Lord Whitworth was despatched to Copenhagen with a special mission to offer conciliatory explanations; and to give his embassy the greater weight, he was supported by a considerable squadron under Vice-admiral Dickson, which reached the Skaw on the 15th of August. To procure intelligence, and facilitate communication with his lordship, Sir Home Popham had previously sailed in the *Romney*, and advanced as high as the mouth of the Sound. Matters assumed a hostile appearance; batteries were erected by the Danes on several places along the coast; the fortress of Cronborg was repaired, and the vicinity of Copenhagen put in a state of defence.

The subject was warmly debated by the British minister, who maintained that the principle on which his government had acted was agreeable to the law of nations. Similar discussions took place in London between Lord Grenville and the Danish ambassador; but the

formidable attitude of the English armament obliged the Danes to come to terms. A convention was signed (August 29), under the very walls of their capital, by the two plenipotentiaries, Lord Whitworth and Count Bernstorff; the substance of which was, that the Freya and her convoy were to be released, and repaired at the expense of Great Britain; the decision of the question as to the right of search was postponed for further discussion.

This accommodation quashed but did not settle the dispute; neither did it meet with the approval of the czar. That prince, who in 1799 had threatened Denmark with war for assisting the commerce of the French republic, was now the most zealous partisan in forming a combination of the Northern powers in favour of the common enemy, whom he had engaged by treaty with Great Britain to resist with the whole force of his empire. Denmark and Sweden were openly invited to join him in the confederacy; his preponderating influence in these courts, added to their own commercial interests, induced them to comply with his peremptory request. His Swedish majesty, young and of a resolute temper, yielded at once to the solicitation, and he laboured with indefatigable ardour not only to complete his own naval equipments, but to accelerate the preparations of his neighbours. The Danes did not accede to the coalition without considerable hesitation; because their trade had never been more flourishing, or their navigation more extensive, than at that period. The commerce of Europe and both the Indies poured into their harbours, and their merchants had amassed a degree of wealth hitherto unexampled in the history of their nation. But the threats and importunities of the adjoining states, and the necessity of connecting themselves with some great power able to protect them, overcame their repugnance to war. The seizure of a Prussian vessel, and some other aggressions by the English, afforded to the court of Berlin a pretext for joining the union. The confederation of the four powers was formally concluded, and signed on the 16th and 18th of December (1800) at St

Petersburg ; it was nearly similar to the armed neutrality of 1780, but rather more favourable to belligerent nations, as it required that the captain and at least half the crew should be subjects of the state to which the neutral vessel belonged.

In consequence of these hostile measures, the English government ordered a seizure (Jan. 14, 1801) of all ships in their ports belonging to any of the combined powers, except those of Prussia. A great number of merchantmen richly laden were seized on their way to the Baltic, or detained in port ; and of 450 Swedish traders, it was estimated that 200 were either captured at sea, or arrested in British harbours. Count Jarlsberg and Baron Ehrensvard, the Danish and Swedish ministers at London, protested, in their notes to Lord Grenville, against the embargo, in name of their respective courts, and demanded that it should be removed, otherwise they would consider it equivalent to a declaration of war on the part of England. At Berlin, Lord Crarysfort represented to Count Haugwitz the violence and injustice of the proceedings adopted by the Baltic powers ; expressing a hope at the same time, that Frederick William would not join the enemies of his Britannic Majesty, who were about to employ force to compel him to acknowledge a code of maritime laws which he deemed incompatible with the honour and security of his crown.*

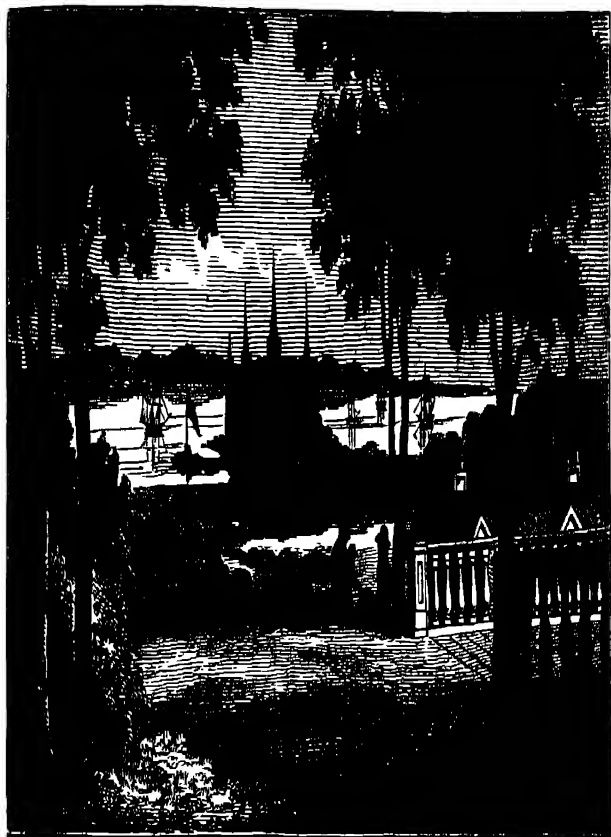
From the tone of these diplomatic discussions, it was evident that Prussia was not inclined to stand neutral in this great contest. A body of troops accordingly entered Hanover (April 3), when an embargo was immediately laid on British shipping, and the Elbe and the Weser were closed against the English flag. At the same time a detachment of 15,000 Danish soldiers under Prince Charles, landgrave of Hesse, took possession of Hamburg and Lubeck, in order to stop the trade and navigation of Britain on the Elbe. The English consul there had repeatedly warned all vessels in the river to accele-

* Annual Register, an. 1800, 1801. Alison's History of Europe, vol. iv. p. 479.485.

rate their departure, some of which obeyed the admonition, while others, not apprehending danger, were detained.

The situation of England at that period was extremely critical ; only a year before, she had taken the lead in the coalition against France,—now she found herself obliged to resist the combined hostility of Europe, with an exhausted treasury, and a population suffering from the double visitation of famine and pestilence. On the other hand, the might of Bonaparte had increased with unexampled rapidity. Austria was unable to withstand his victorious armies ; Italy and Switzerland crouched beneath his eagles ; Spain openly declared in his favour ; and Holland was reduced to a province of the Republic.

As the chances of success for Britain now depended entirely on her striking a decisive blow at the outset, and anticipating, by the celerity of her movements, that combination of force which threatened the national independence, the most vigorous measures were resorted to with a view to bring the controversy to a speedy termination. In the beginning of March (12th) a powerful squadron, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, four frigates, and about thirty gun-boats, sailed from Yarmouth, under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second in command, fresh from the glories of the Nile. The fleet was accompanied by Mr Nicolas Vansittart (afterwards Lord Bexley), in the capacity of a plenipotentiary, to endeavour an arrangement by negotiation, which unfortunately proved totally impracticable. On arriving in the Cattegat, off Zealand (20th), Sir Hyde immediately despatched a letter to the Governor of Cronborg Castle, Heer Stricker, inquiring whether he would be allowed to pass the Sound unmolested ! The answer was in the negative ; but by the earnest advice of Nelson, it was determined to attempt the passage. This bold resolution was not only the most gallant, but the most judicious that could have been adopted ; and accordingly on the 30th the squadron bore up in three divisions, with a favourable wind, and passing almost beyond reach of the Danish guns, which opened a heavy fire from above a



Cronborg Castle and Elsinour from Hamlet's Garden.

hundred pieces of cannon, the fleet anchored about noon opposite the harbour of Copenhagen.

Though the Danes had long enjoyed profound peace, they were still animated with the courage and patriotism of their brave ancestors ; and never did they manifest greater energy and public spirit than in their preparations to oppose this formidable armament. All classes made the utmost exertion in providing for the safety of the capital. The prince-royal set the example, by presiding at the labours of his subjects ; the merchants came forward with liberal contributions ; the university furnished a corps of 1200 youths, the flower of Denmark ; the peasants flocked from the country to man the arsenals, and even children disguised their age that they might share in these defensive operations ; the workmen continued whole nights in the dock-yards, labouring by torch-light, and refusing more than the necessary repose. The delay of the British squadron for ten days in the Cattegat was turned to good account by these indefatigable citizens, although it led in the end to an unnecessary effusion of blood.

The garrison of the capital consisted of 10,000 men, besides the battalions of volunteers, who were still more numerous. Every possible care had been taken to strengthen the sea-defences ; and the imposing array of forts, ramparts, men-of-war, fire-ships, gun-boats, and floating batteries, was such as might have deterred any other assailant than the hero of the Nile, who led the van, and was present wherever difficulty or danger was to be encountered. The entrance to the harbour was protected by a great number of vessels moored in an external line, and flanked on each side by the two crown-batteries, the smaller of which mounted 56 and the larger 68 heavy cannon. As the fire of these and other strong temporary works crossed with that from the batteries on the island of Amack and the citadel of Copenhagen, it seemed hardly possible that any squadron could long withstand so concentrated and tremendous a discharge. In addition to these, the British fleet had other

dangers to contend with, from the shoals and sand-banks in the narrow winding channel by which alone the harbour could be approached, and from which all the buoys had intentionally been removed.

But the indefatigable perseverance of Nelson overcame every obstacle ; and as soon as the necessary soundings were completed, he suggested the plan of operations, which was, to make the attack from the southward, on the right flank of the enemy. The arrangements for the action having been made, the whole fleet weighed anchor on the 1st of April, and threading their way among the dangerous shoals, they succeeded, just as darkness closed, in reaching Draco Point, not more than ten miles from the right of the Danish line.

The action commenced at ten next morning, and was sustained with characteristic valour on both sides. The cannonade was tremendous ; above 2000 pieces of ordnance poured death "from their adamantine lips," within a space not exceeding a mile and a half in extent. For three hours "the havock did not slack," until the hostile fleets seemed wrapped in one dazzling conflagration. The perilous task of fronting the crown-batteries was undertaken by "the gallant, good Riou," and in the discharge of his arduous duties that lamented officer lost his life, having been cut in two by a chain-shot just as his little squadron was preparing to retire, in obedience to Admiral Parker's orders.

The Danes maintained the desperate struggle with all the bravery and intrepidity of the ancient conquerors of the North. From the prince-royal, who took his station on one of the principal batteries, and witnessed the heroic resistance of his subjects, down to the humblest citizen, one sentiment of devoted patriotism seemed to animate the whole population. As fast as the crews of the guard-ships were mowed down by the English guns, fresh hands crowded on board, ready to take their places, and fall gloriously in the same cause. Captains Lassen and Thura, in the *Prøvensten* and *Indosforetten*, signalized themselves by their daring exploits ; the Dan-

nebrog sustained, with determined constancy, the terrible broadside of the *Elephant* (Nelson's ship), until two successive captains, with three-fourths of the crew, had been swept away. At length she took fire, when the gallant survivors precipitated themselves into the water, and left the vessel to her fate, which soon after blew up with a dreadful explosion. But all these heroic efforts were of no avail; the Danish fire began to slacken, and one vessel struck after another, until the whole front line, by two o'clock, was either taken, sunk, burnt, or destroyed. The carnage in this desperate battle was unusually great; the loss of the British was reckoned at 1200, but that of the Danes was much more severe; amounting in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to no less than 6000.

After the line had ceased firing, the shot from the crown-batteries and the isle of Amack continued to gall the English boats sent to carry off the prizes. In this extremity, Nelson addressed a note to the prince-royal, representing the expediency of allowing a flag of truce to pass; and stating, that if this were denied, he should be under the necessity of destroying the floating batteries now in his power, while it would be impossible to save those brave men by whom they were defended. As the object of this letter was humanity, the request was complied with; the destructive cannonade from the batteries was silenced, and the action closed after four hours' continuance. Thus terminated one of the most bloody and obstinately-contested battles which the fleets of the two nations ever fought. "I have been in 105 engagements (said Nelson to Colonel Lundholm, aide-de-camp to the crown-prince), in the course of my life, but that of to-day was the most terrible of them all."

A melancholy scene of misery and ruin now presented itself to the conquerors; white flags were flying from the mast-heads of the Danish ships, and guns of distress were occasionally discharged, while the burning vessels, floating in the distance, threw a dismal light on the lurid sky, which, from being clear and serene, had

become suddenly overcast. The sea was covered with English boats, generously rendering assistance to those who were endeavouring to escape from the flaming wrecks. In the capital, every house was filled with mourners; the streets were occupied with funeral-trains attending the dead, or with weeping friends conveying their wounded relatives back to those hearths which they had so nobly defended. Melancholy tributes were afterwards paid to the brave men who had fallen in the conflict; a public mausoleum was erected on the spot where the slain had been interred, and a monument was raised in the principal church of the city.

When Nelson got permission to land, and went on shore, attended by Captains Hardy and Freemantle, to adjust terms of conciliation, he was received by the generous citizens without a murmur, and treated by the accomplished prince with every mark of respect. The conduct of the people was such as became a gallant nation, depressed but not subdued by misfortune. The terms of the convention which ultimately took place were speedily arranged, and during the repast that followed, Nelson told his royal highness that the French sailors, although they fought bravely, could not have stood for one hour the combat which the Danes had maintained during four. Never, indeed, had the national valour shone out with more distinguished lustre than in that terrible engagement, which, from its vicinity to the capital, had wound up the feelings of the people to the highest pitch of heroism. Of all the Danish vessels taken in battle, the Holstein alone was brought to England; the remainder being rendered unserviceable by the fire, were sunk or burnt in the roads of Copenhagen.*

The proposed negotiation was attended with considerable difficulty, arising from no warlike disposition on the part of Denmark, but from the dread of Russian vengeance. Lord Nelson insisted upon an immediate

* Annual Register, an. 1801. Southey's *Life of Nelson*, vol. ii. p. 108-147. James' *Naval History*, vol. iii. p. 98-115. Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 502-520.

settlement, and even threatened to renew hostilities that same night unless an armistice was concluded. A truce of fourteen weeks was at length agreed upon, in which it was also stipulated that the principles of the armed neutrality should, in the mean time, be suspended as to Danish vessels ; that the British fleet should obtain supplies of all kinds from the island of Zealand ; and the prisoners with the wounded sent ashore, to be carried to the credit of England in the event of war being renewed. With a view to forward the general pacification, Nelson kept cruising in the Baltic. On arriving with his squadron at Carlsrona, which the Swedish fleet had left, but were prevented by contrary winds from joining the Danes, he ascertained that the court of Stockholm was disposed to close with any equitable terms offered to the other confederate powers.

The only obstacle in the way of accommodation was Russia, whose fleet the British admiral had pursued to Cronstadt, and might probably have destroyed, had not an event occurred at St Petersburg which changed the whole current of Northern policy.

The Emperor Paul, who had spurned all attempts at conciliation with England, was strangled in his bedroom on the night of the 24th of March, having exhibited, during the last year of his life, evident symptoms of insanity. His successor Alexander soon resolved to abandon the late confederacy, and to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain. A convention was afterwards concluded (June 17) at St Petersburg, by which the principles of maritime law maintained by England were recognised ; and amity being thus restored between these formidable powers, all other disputes were easily adjusted. Sweden and Denmark, unable of themselves to prolong the unequal struggle, were compelled to follow the example of Russia, and accede to the same accommodation ; in virtue of which the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck were evacuated by the Danish troops, the free navigation of the Elbe was restored, and the embargo raised in all the ports of the three Northern states.

These measures led to corresponding steps on the part of the British government, with regard to the shipping of those allied powers. Prussia, which had been unwillingly drawn into the struggle, took the first opportunity of escaping from its effects. Under the mediation of Russia, an arrangement was adjusted, by which her troops were to evacuate Hanover and Bremen, and the free navigation of the Weser was to be restored. Thus was dissolved, in less than six months after it had been formed, the League of the North, the most formidable confederacy ever arrayed against the maritime power of England. Nor were hostilities confined to the Baltic alone ; for in the spring of the same year, the Danish and Swedish isles in the West Indies were reduced by a squadron under Admiral Duckworth ; and had not peace been speedily restored, these nations might have sustained the entire loss of their foreign colonies.

The peace of Amiens (March 27, 1802) left the French republic in possession of vast territorial acquisitions ; but it was of short duration, and scarcely had the continental nations begun to enjoy the blessings of repose, when the grasping ambition of Bonaparte forced them into a new defensive war. The King of Sweden had already acceded to the system adopted by his brother-in-law, the Emperor Alexander ; and when the arrogant and unjustifiable proceedings of the First Consul had excited the enmity of that monarch, Gustavus shared in the resentment of his kinsman, and took a leading part in organizing measures to protect the menaced liberties of Northern Germany. Two events occurred at this time which excited feelings of horror and alarm in every cabinet of Europe,—the assassination of the Duked'Enghien (March 21, 1804), and the assumption (May 18) of the imperial dignity by Napoleon. Russia and Sweden protested against the murder of the prince, in terms of strong reprobation ; but the great majority of the German states, afraid to provoke a renewal of hostilities with France, remained inactive.

On this occasion, none displayed more boldness and

energy than his Swedish majesty, who had a vote in the Germanic Diet, as Duke of Pomerania. His abhorrence of the insidious and usurping policy of Bonaparte was expressed in the most severe and indignant language. The assumption of the imperial title especially, which most of the European sovereigns had viewed with indifference, appeared to Gustavus a matter of so great importance, that he recommended it to the serious attention of the assembly at Ratisbon. All his communications on the subject were fraught with a spirit of bitter hostility against France and her ambitious ruler.

Napoleon retaliated in terms equally sarcastic and galling to the feelings of his antagonist. An article in the *Moniteur* (his official paper) affected to treat the Northern monarch with perfect contempt, as a very weak young man, deficient both in understanding and experience. It upbraided him with having abandoned his allies the Danes to their fate, at the bombardment of Copenhagen; and in allusion to the celebrated hero whom he affected to take as his prototype, it remarked with an ironical sneer, that his hand was too feeble to wield the sword of Charles XII., from whom he had inherited nothing but his folly and his boots.

The effect of this personal and offensive attack was an immediate notification to M. Caillaud, the French chargé d'affaires at Stockholm, to prepare for his departure, as it was not consistent with the dignity of the crown, after the "improper, insolent, and ridiculous observations which *Monsieur* Napoleon Bonaparte had caused to be inserted in his journal," that any further diplomatic intercourse, public or private, could be allowed to subsist between the two governments. An order was likewise issued, strictly prohibiting all French newspapers and publications of every description from being imported into Sweden. Matters had now reached a crisis which seemed to render war unavoidable; and if the gathering storm lingered for a time, it was only because the two Northern powers enjoyed not the vigorous co-operation of Prussia and the other states of the imperial confederacy.

In order to establish some competent barrier against the daily and rapidly increasing aggressions of Napoleon, a treaty of concert, projected by the English prime-minister, Pitt, was concluded (April 11, 1805) at St Petersburg, between the Emperor of Russia and his Britannic Majesty, in which they agreed to employ the most prompt and efficacious means for organizing a general league of the continental states, with a view either to induce or to compel the French government to restrain its ambitious pretensions, and respect the peace and balance of Europe. To accomplish these important ends, it was proposed to assemble a combined force of 500,000 effective men, independently of the subsidies and transports to be furnished by England. Austria and Sweden had entered readily into these views. Gustavus, whose unceasing efforts and personal enthusiasm in the cause far surpassed his utmost means, had formed an alliance with Russia (Jan. 14), and negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, at Helsingborg (Aug. 31) and at Beckaskog (Oct. 3), the principal conditions of which were, that a *dépôt* of Hanoverian troops should be formed in Pomerania; that England should grant a sum of £60,000 for improving the defences of Stralsund; and take into pay the Swedish regiments in Germany, in the event of hostilities with France commencing before the termination of the year.* The sagacity of Bonaparte early discovered and contrived to frustrate these offensive measures, by inducing Prussia not to allow the occupation of Pomerania by the Hanoverians.

This hostile conduct of the court of Berlin was deeply resented by Gustavus, who boldly avowed his resolution to proceed in resisting the encroachments of the common adversary, as he had given fresh cause of provocation and alarm, by proclaiming himself King of Italy (March 18), and by seizing the republics of Genoa and Lucca. Before quitting Stockholm, he appointed a

* Annual Register, an. 1804-5. Schœl, *Hist des Traités re-fondue*, tome xii. Koch, *Tableau des Revolut. de l'Europe*, tome ii. per. 9.

regency, consisting of Barons Wrangel, Cederstrom, and Ehrenheim, with Counts Axel and Ugglas, to conduct the administration of affairs in his absence. It was part of the scheme of the confederates, that while the main army acted in conjunction with Austria, which had provoked the unsparing vengeance of Napoleon, a formidable diversion should be made by his Swedish majesty on the side of Hanover, then occupied by Marshal Bernadotte with a French corps of about 30,000 men. The scheme was considered feasible, had it been followed up with sufficient promptitude. But it was not until the middle of November that they took the field, when their services were no longer availing. The surrender of General Mack at Ulm (October 19), with 25,000 men; the fall of Vienna (November 13); and the entire defeat of the Austro-Russian army at the memorable battle of Austerlitz (December 2), which led to the peace of Augsburg between France and Austria, rendered all the formidable preparations of the Northern League unavailing. The operations of the allied troops in Hanover were suspended, and no alternative was left them but a speedy retreat to their respective countries.

The disastrous result of these victories broke up the confederacy, the third that had been formed for the purpose of rescuing from the dominion of Napoleon those countries which he had subdued since 1792, and reducing the kingdom of France within its ancient limits, guarded by such arrangements as might form a barrier against her projects of future aggrandizement.

The perfidious court of Berlin, by seizing Hanover, which the French army had evacuated, and entering into negotiations with the common enemy at Vienna (December 15), occasioned retaliatory measures on the part of England, and provoked hostilities with Sweden. The troops that occupied Lauenburg, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians into that duchy, were compelled, after a short resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg. Gustavus, in return, laid an embargo on all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued orders for blockading

the ports of that kingdom in the Baltic. It was natural to expect that Frederick-William would take revenge by expelling the Swedes from Pomerania ; but if ever he entertained that design, it was completely frustrated by a sudden revolution in his politics, which gave a totally different direction to his arms.

The conclusion of treaties with Austria and Prussia, left France no antagonist within her reach, except Britain and Naples ; yet her ambitious ruler, pursuing his wild schemes of universal dominion, still aspired to new conquests. He had made prodigious efforts to increase his marine, in the hope of planting his standard on the British soil ; but his fleets and his prospects were at once and for ever destroyed by the brilliant victory off Trafalgar (October 21), which secured for the English flag the undisputed command of the sea. Baffled in his maritime projects by the gallantry of Nelson, who annihilated at a single blow the labours and expectations of three years, the fertile genius of Bonaparte conceived the plan of opposing one combination of strength to another, by surrounding himself with a number of states independent in appearance, but entirely subject to his control as head of the empire. He had usurped the crown of Italy, and declared his adopted stepson, Eugene Beauharnois, his successor in that country. His brother Joseph was created (March 30, 1806) King of the Two Sicilies. The sovereignty of Holland was conferred (June 5) on Louis ; whilst Jerome was destined for the throne of Westphalia,—a monarchy erected (December 1807) chiefly out of the ceded territories of Prussia. Several more of his relations were decked with the titles and spoils of the expatriated dynasties. Murat, his brother-in-law, was vested in the duchies of Cleves and Berg, and afterwards presented with the crown of Naples. Talleyrand received the principality of Benevento, while that of Ponte Corvo, which he had wrested from the Church, was bestowed on Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, brother-in-law to Joseph Bonaparte.

Strengthened by so many family alliances, he arro-

gated to himself the right of determining the common tie that was to unite all these states, with their dependencies, into a grand political league called the Federative System of the French Empire. This compact, which subsequently assumed the name of the Confederation of the Rhine, and was concluded at Paris (July 12, 1806) between Napoleon and sixteen of the German princes, entirely changed the social system of the continent, and put an end to the Germanic empire ; an event which was announced by the ministers of France and the confederated estates to the diet then assembled at Ratisbon. This clandestine transaction, of which Austria and Prussia had been kept in ignorance, and the proposed restitution of Hanover to England, opened the eyes of Frederick-William to the selfish designs of Napoleon. War was immediately declared ; but unfortunately he commenced hostilities without waiting for the supplies which Russia, by the treaty of Petershoff, had agreed to furnish. The battles of Jena and Auerstadt, both gained on the same day (Oct. 14), the former by Bonaparte over Prince Hohenlohe, and the latter by Marshal Davoust over the Duke of Brunswick, decided the fortune of the campaign, and opened the gates of Berlin to the conqueror. Dantzic, and most of the principal towns in the kingdom, shared the fate of the capital. The victories of Eylau (February 8, 1807) and Friedland (June 14) sealed the doom of Prussia, and led to the peace of Tilsit (July 9) between France and the two Northern powers. After that treaty, the Emperor Alexander was seduced into a discreditable alliance with Napoleon, and agreed to make common cause with him against Great Britain.

For two years the courts of St Petersburg and Paris continued on a footing of intimate friendship, whilst Frederick-William saw himself stript of immense possessions, with nearly the half of his annual revenues, and five millions of his subjects. His dominions were brought back almost to the state in which they were in 1772, before the first partition of Poland, and reduced

at once from the rank of a primary to that of a secondary power in Europe. His minister for foreign affairs, Baron Hardenberg, had resumed, in the beginning of the year 1807, the scheme of Mr Pitt which had failed in 1805 ; and the basis of a fourth coalition was laid by the convention of Bartenstein (April 21) between Russia and Prussia, in which Austria, England, Sweden, and Denmark, were invited to join ; but the execution of the project was retarded by subsequent events, and ultimately frustrated by the treaties of Tilsit.

Gustavus, who now stood alone in the contest, had the courage or the temerity to attack, single-handed, the colossal power which had triumphed over subsidies and confederations until it had not an adversary left on the continent. Napoleon had already attempted to open a separate negotiation for peace with him, and affected to entertain a very high esteem for his character ; but the proffer was rejected, and the Swedish envoy at Hamburg severely reprimanded for listening to the insidious overtures of the enemy. The argument employed on this occasion to detach him from his allies was no less than the annexation of Norway ; a tempting bait, doubtless, for those who could barter honour and independence for territorial aggrandizement. After waging a harmless war of official notes and proclamations, the belligerent parties appealed to the sword. The troops stationed in Lauenburg were made prisoners at Travemunde, as they were endeavouring, after the assault of that town by Murat, to make their escape to Sweden by sea. Towards the end of December, Marshal Mortier advanced with a small detachment to the frontier of Pomerania, in order to form the siege of Stralsund, and drive the Swedes from the Isle of Rugen. The efforts of the besiegers at the former place met with a brave resistance from the garrison, who defended themselves with great spirit until their assailants were recalled to strengthen the army employed in the reduction of Dantzic.

When Gustavus arrived in Pomerania to assume the command of his troops, he found that a truce had been

concluded (April 18) at Schlattkov between the two contending generals ; but notwithstanding this armistice, his ships continued their hostile operations against the French in the Baltic, by blockading the ports, and attacking the enemy's forces then besieging Colberg. Marshal Brune, on the part of Napoleon, remonstrated with his Swedish majesty on this subject. The king honoured this officer with a long conversation, in which he exhorted him to abandon the emperor, and espouse the interests of the exiled Bourbons. Finding his expostulations vain, he concluded the interview by announcing his determination to resume the war at the expiry of the truce, which, he complained, had been made without his consent. The marshal instantly gave battle, and after an action of half an hour, Gustavus was obliged to retire to Stralsund. He had with him an army of about 13,000 Swedes and 4000 Prussians, and was in daily expectation of being joined by a large reinforcement from England ; his Britannic Majesty having re-established peace and amity with Frederick-William, who, on his part, renounced all claim to the electorate of Hanover, and restored mutual freedom of commerce and navigation.

The treaty of Tilsit and the desertion of Alexander had no effect in shaking the resolution of Gustavus ; and when Prussia offered to interpose for adjusting conciliatory terms with France, he rejected her mediation, expressing his conviction, " that in signing any compromise with the tyrant, he should subscribe his own ruin, both in this world and the next." Impressed with abhorrence at the desolating wars and continued aggressions of Bonaparte, he issued a spirited address to the vanquished nations of the Continent, calling upon them to vindicate their honour and independence, to rise against the oppressor of their country, and shake off his inglorious yoke. The appeal and the resolution of the Swedish monarch were equally premature ; nor was it from the ramparts of Stralsund, but on the field of Waterloo, that Europe was to look for her deliverer. The king de-

fended the town with unabated vigour, although his troops had been a second time defeated in the neighbourhood, by Marshal Brune with a corps of the grand army of observation. From policy or superstition, he affected to rely on preternatural aid, which he said Jung's interpretation of the Apocalypse had taught him to expect. But neither the valour of his soldiers, nor the confidence inspired by the German commentator, could resist the army under Brune, composed of 70,000 troops of different nations. Dreading the consequences of a bombardment or an assault, the Swedes, after spiking their cannon and destroying their magazines, evacuated the fortress (August 19), and next day effected a safe landing with their stores on the Isle of Rugen. Gustavus, who had evinced considerable dexterity in securing this retreat, left an officer, Baron Vegesack, to sound the intentions of the citizens, whether they were disposed to resist or capitulate. They preferred the latter, and the town was surrendered at discretion. The troops on the island remained until the beginning of September; and as the reinforcement of 8000 Hanoverians in British pay, under Lord Cathcart, had left it some weeks before, and were employed in the attack on Copenhagen, they were forced to surrender; Rugen and all the islands on the Pomeranian coast being included in the capitulation.*

During these transactions on the shores of the Baltic, Denmark wisely consulted her interests in pursuing a strict and cautious neutrality. On the dissolution of the Germanic empire, Frederick declared the territory of Holstein to be for ever separated from that body, and formally annexed it to his other dominions as an integral part of the Danish monarchy. The restrictions imposed by France on the trade of other nations were an advantage to the Danes, by increasing their commerce and navigation, and crowding their harbours with a large share of the traffic formerly carried on by the

* Alison's Hist. of Europe, vol. v. c. 39, 40, 42, 43. Koch, *Tableau de Revolut. de l'Europe*, tome ii. per. 9. Thomson's *Travels*, c. vi. p. 116-121. Bourrienne's *Memoirs*, an. 1805-6-7.

interdicted states. It was at this flourishing period of their resources, that their capital was a second time exposed to the destructive visitation of a naval armament from Great Britain. The first intimation of that expedition, which inflicted all the horrors of war upon a neutral and inoffensive nation, was contained in the royal speech delivered at the prorogation of the English parliament (August 14), wherein a distinct allusion was made as to the expediency of counteracting the undisguised determination of the French emperor to employ the means and resources of those countries which he possessed or controlled, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of this kingdom. In justification of the proposed enterprise, the destination and precise object of which were studiously concealed, it was alleged that his Britannic majesty had received the most positive intelligence of the determination of Napoleon to occupy with a military force the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of inducing or compelling Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British shipping, and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of England, which he had long meditated; whilst by shutting the ports of the Baltic, he would cut off all her accustomed channels of communication with the continent.

The specific information upon which these assertions were founded was not produced; and the question, it must be confessed, is one which scarcely admits of direct proof, since it is the nature of all preventive war to destroy the very arguments and evidences of its necessity. But the designs and intentions of Bonaparte with regard to Denmark, viewed in connexion with his jealous hatred of England, could not possibly be matter of doubt to any government which had witnessed his career of systematic aggression, and seen how invariably he had made the conquest of one country instrumental to the subjugation of another. The dangerous ascendancy which his power had acquired in Europe; the number of states and kingdoms which he had either subdued by force of arms, or inveigled into alliance

with him ; and his virtual declaration, in the Berlin and Milan decrees, of hostility against every neutral power holding commercial intercourse with Great Britain, form the best excuse and the only vindication that can be offered for the violent seizure of the Danish fleet, in order to weaken the resources or defeat the projects of an implacable enemy.

The policy of Bonaparte makes it too obvious that the apprehensions of England were well founded. All the potentates of Germany, with a few exceptions, had been forced successively to join his continental system. Italy lay prostrate at his feet ; Austria had lost more than 1000 square miles of territory, and nearly 3,000,000 of subjects ; a new dynasty awaited Spain ; and 30,000 troops under Junot were ready to cross the Pyrenees to execute the convention signed at Fontainebleau for the division and appropriation of the whole Peninsula. From the Mediterranean to the Baltic the tempest of revolution had extended its ravages, and changed the political aspect of Europe. Bonaparte had arrived at the summit of his grandeur, and the ruin of one nation was only wanted to place him at the head of a western empire. Nothing could better promote the accomplishment of that final object of his ambition, than the accession of the Scandinavian kingdoms to the mighty confederation organized in Germany ; and soon after the peace of Tilsit, various appearances indicated that he was preparing to seize Denmark with a view to make that power an accomplice in his designs upon England. It was the knowledge of these facts that induced the British government to equip an offensive expedition, for preventing the occupation of Sleswig and Holstein by foreign troops, and the incorporation of the Danish navy with the marine of France.

This powerful armament, which was fitted out with unusual activity and secrecy, consisted of about 20,000 men, with a fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line and about ninety vessels of other descriptions. One division, under the immediate direction of Commodore Keats,

made its way without the smallest accident into the Great Belt, through an intricate navigation hitherto deemed inaccessible to ships of war, and thus cut off all communication with Zealand, so that no military succours could reach it from any other part of the kingdom. The land-force accompanied the main body of the squadron to the Sound, where it was joined by the troops employed at Stralsund and the Isle of Rugen, as auxiliaries to the King of Sweden. Admiral Gambier commanded the fleet, and Lord Cathcart the army. It was understood to be the British instructions that the expedition was in the first instance to remain inactive, and that no offensive operations, except that of blockading Zealand by obstructing the passage across the Belt, were to be undertaken until the result of a negotiation with the Danish government was known. For that purpose Mr Jackson, the English envoy, was despatched to Kiel to demand of the prince-royal the delivery of the whole fleet into the possession of the British admiral, under a solemn stipulation that it should be restored immediately on the conclusion of peace with France. The insidious designs of Bonaparte, and the necessity of frustrating them by the previous surrender of the marine, was urged in vindication of a measure apparently so rigorous and unjust.

The persevering endeavours of Mr Jackson to effect an amicable arrangement, or even to obtain an interview with the prince-regent, or any explanation on the subject, proved unsuccessful. For some time there had existed indications of an unfriendly spirit between the courts of London and Copenhagen, and these tended to corroborate the suspicions of a collusion with the common enemy. French menaces had already been employed to overawe his royal highness into submission to the will of the conqueror, yet no efforts were made by him to resist or expose these arrogant attempts at coercion; and when his Swedish majesty communicated to Frederick the fact of his having been offered the kingdom of Norway as an allurement to draw him into an

alliance with Napoleon, no indignation was expressed by the Danish regent at this transaction, and no precautions used to avert the disintegration of his dominions.

The most charitable construction that can be put upon the proceedings in Denmark at the time of the British invasion is, that her obsequiousness to the intrigues of the French emperor was the result of weakness more than of a willing disposition ; and we have the confession of the government themselves that they had not the means of resisting. But whether she was the accomplice or the victim of the gigantic ambition of Bonaparte, the danger to the interests of England was the same ; and as Mr Jackson had entirely failed in the object of his mission, the squadron which lay at anchor within a few miles of the port of Copenhagen commenced hostilities without delay. The troops debarked (August 16) at the village of Vedbeck, and after some ineffectual attempts of the Danes to impede their progress along the coast, they invested the city on the land side, whilst the fleet formed an impenetrable blockade by sea.

On the morning of the 2d of September the batteries, with the bomb and mortar vessels, opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and with such effect that in a very short time a general conflagration appeared to have taken place. A feeble opposition was returned from the ramparts and the citadel, and on the following night the British cannonade was allowed to slacken. The cause of this is variously represented, but its effect was to encourage the citizens in their resistance, on the supposition that the enemy had not sufficient means to prosecute the siege. On the 4th the bombardment was renewed with unabated violence, and next morning a trumpeter appeared at the English outposts from General Peymann, commandant of the city, containing proposals for a truce of twenty-four hours, to allow time for negotiating a capitulation, and communicating with the king and his son, then at Nyborg in Fionia.

Meantime, a body of Danish troops which had ven-

tured to contest a position near Kiøge with the land-forces under Sir Arthur Wellesley, were driven from their entrenchments into the town, and there routed with considerable slaughter, and the loss of 1100 prisoners, besides sixty officers. After this action, the only one of importance that took place, Sir Arthur moved towards the centre of the island to quiet and disarm the inhabitants. When the government evinced a disposition to treat, he repaired to Copenhagen, and was appointed, conjointly with Sir Home Popham and Colonel (now Sir George) Murray, to fix the terms of pacification. With that promptitude and decision which always distinguished the hero of Waterloo, the conditions were discussed and settled in one night; the ratifications were exchanged next day (8th), when the British army took possession of the citadel, batteries, and dock-yards, with their stores and munitions. Lord Gambier immediately began rigging and fitting out the ships that filled the spacious basins where they were laid up in ordinary, and at the expiry of the time limited in the stipulation, they were all conveyed to England, including every article of naval equipment found in the arsenal and store-houses.* Thus was accomplished the object of the British government, by means which it is painful even at this distance of time to record, and which can only be defended on the plea of absolute necessity.

The bombardment cost the citizens about 2000 lives and the destruction of 500 houses. These heavy calamities might have been averted, had the prince-regent consented to surrender the fleet in pledge until the conclusion of a general peace. Yet, on the other hand, it was hardly to be expected that a high-minded monarch and a brave people could yield to conditions as humiliating as ever were proposed to a free and independent government. The conduct of England in this undertaking is also open to censure, and was most bitterly attacked by the opposition in the British parliament.

* The Danish ships consisted of nineteen sail of the line, fifteen frigates, six brigs, and twenty-nine gun-boats.

If the great design of the expedition was to thwart the policy of Bonaparte, and intercept his views upon Denmark, that object, it was alleged, might have been attained without either capturing her fleet or burning her capital, by merely keeping possession of Zealand, and rendering it inaccessible to French invasion by the presence of the squadron in the Great Belt. By stipulating to withdraw from the Baltic in so short a space as six weeks, thus leaving the Danes exposed to the operation of sinister influence, and at liberty to repair the damage done to their marine, the British commanders involved the projectors of the scheme in considerable embarrassment, and left their enemies to infer that the armament was not altogether of a preventive nature as regarded the intentions of Napoleon, but a predatory attack on a weak unoffending neutral power, whose scanty naval resources, even if added to the French marine, could create no real danger which the victorious flag of England was not competent to repel.*

Before the fleet quitted Copenhagen, the court of London offered Denmark the alternative of returning to a state of neutrality, or of forming an alliance with Great Britain. The crown-prince having refused both, war was declared against him (November 4), and this added another member to the continental system. The Danish minister, in retaliation, concluded a treaty of alliance with Bonaparte at Fontainebleau (October 31), in virtue of which the islands of the Baltic were to be occupied with French troops, destined to act against Sweden. On the same day the Emperor Alexander issued a haughty declaration, accusing his Britannic majesty of molesting the interests of Russia, and harassing a friendly power with unprovoked hostilities. He renounced all connexion with a court which could be guilty of such injustice, intimated the revival of the armed neutrality, and demanded satisfaction both for himself and the Danes. The crown-prince gave orders

* Annual Register, 1807.—Debates in Parliament, same year.

that all Englishmen within his territories should be detained, their goods and property sequestered, and every channel of communication with the Continent shut against their commerce. His subjects were encouraged to fit out privateers, and exact severe retribution by sea or land on the British, who were now denounced as their perfidious enemies.

Meantime the army of occupation, according to the treaty of Fontainebleau, consisting of 32,000 French, Dutch, and Spanish troops, under the command of Marshal Bernadotte, arrived (March 1808) in Zealand, and were dispersed over Jutland, Fionia, Langeland, and the other Danish islands; but the war with Austria, which terminated in the peace of Schoenbrunn (Oct. 14, 1809), and the defection of the Spanish auxiliaries, with their patriotic commander, the Marquis de la Romana, who contrived to make their escape with the assistance of Rear-admiral Keats (Aug. 18), put an end to the threatened invasion of Sweden. A declaration of war with that kingdom was issued by Denmark (Feb. 29) at the instigation of Napoleon, in which their connivance at the attack of the English on Copenhagen and their recent alliance were pointedly censured; but within two weeks afterwards, the imbecile old king, Christian VII., expired (March 13), when the prince-regent, who had been at the head of the government since 1784, became sovereign in his own right. He adhered strictly to the continental system, and although he had not the means of making a very effective impression, he continued with his privateers and other small vessels to harass the British shipping; while the latter ruined the trade of his subjects, and took possession of his foreign colonies.

Gustavus was now the only monarch in Europe (George III. excepted) whose condition enabled him to resist the intrigues and encroachments of the French emperor. All the other princes, including the King of Prussia, were so humbled or alarmed, that even those who had hitherto maintained the semblance of

neutrality, were compelled to join in the confederacy with France. In this critical situation of affairs, and threatened with the immediate violation of his territory, in order to force him into submission to the views of Bonaparte, his Swedish majesty had entered into a convention with England, signed (Feb. 18) at Stockholm, in virtue of which the latter consented to pay him for one year the sum of £1,200,000 in monthly instalments of £100,000, for the purpose of keeping up a larger naval and military establishment than he had at his ordinary disposal. It was also stipulated between the two contracting powers, that they should conclude no peace or truce with the enemy but in concert and by mutual agreement.

This treaty was followed by a declaration from Alexander, demanding of Gustavus that in terms of the several conventions as to the armed neutrality of the North, he should enforce the principle by which the Baltic was declared a shut sea; and thus co-operate with the allies of France in inflicting vengeance on England for her unjust and unexampled aggression on a sovereign connected with Russia by the ties of blood and friendship. To this proposal his Swedish majesty replied in a counter declaration (March 11) worthy of his good cause. He reminded the czar of his apostasy from his recent alliances, and his base desertion to the interests of the man who had insulted him personally, proclaimed his subjects barbarians, and attempted by treachery to strip him of his crown. As for the neutrality of 1780 and 1800, he considered that the doctrines established by these treaties had been abandoned by the convention of 1801: that circumstances were entirely changed since Denmark, on whose co-operation he formerly relied, had lost her fleet, and since the English had effected another entrance into the Baltic, independently of the Sound, through the Great Belt: and that he could never consent to enforce an exclusive system against Great Britain, so long as the French were allowed to possess so many ports and har-

hours on the German coast of that sea. To the hostile declarations of Denmark and Prussia (March 6), he made an equally spirited reply, accusing the former power of being the accomplice and the latter the dupe of French machination.

But neither vindication nor remonstrance could save him from being involved in a ruinous war. A Russian army of nearly 60,000 men had already entered Finland (Feb. 21) under the command of General Buxhovden, who issued a proclamation announcing that the emperor considered it necessary to occupy that province by way of pledge that his Swedish majesty would not oppose the coalition formed by the neighbouring states. He offered the inhabitants favour and protection on condition of their submitting peacefully, and assured them of the czar's paternal solicitude for their welfare. This sudden invasion of a peaceful country, without any formal declaration of hostilities, preceded too by manifestoes declaring it incorporated with his empire, and inviting the people to rebellion, was warmly resented by Gustavus, who gave way to his indignation so far as to order Mr Alopeus, the Russian minister at his court, to be arrested. But his troops, consisting of only twelve or thirteen thousand Finlanders, commanded by Marshal Klingspor, were totally incompetent to resist the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. Instead of concentrating all his efforts for the defence of that province, he dispersed his forces in three divisions to operate in as many different quarters. General Toll, with a detachment of eight or ten thousand men, was charged with the protection of Scania against any attack from the Danes; while another corps, under Baron Armfeldt, was despatched to the frontier of Norway for the invasion of that kingdom.

In Finland hostilities commenced towards the end of March. Even at that season of the year, the ice prevented all communication with the opposite coast of Sweden; and when the navigation of the gulf became practicable, the succours intended for the troops, now rendered unavailing, also fell into the hands of the Rus-

sians (March 23) ; and the fortress of Sveaborg, which has been called the Gibraltar of the North, and so strong as to be deemed impregnable, was surrendered by Vice-admiral Cronstedt (April 6) after a siege of a few days and a feeble defence, which did not relieve its governor from the suspicion of cowardice or corruption. The magazines, with an immense quantity of military stores, and the whole flotilla in the harbour, consisting of nearly 300 gun-boats and transports, fell into the enemy's possession. An absurd condition was inserted in the capitulation, that these were to be restored to Sweden at the conclusion of peace, in case England should deliver up the Danish fleet. Cronstedt was dismissed with ignominy from the service, as were all the officers of rank acting with him who had not protested against the surrender ; perhaps a heavier punishment would have been inflicted had the delinquent been within the reach of justice.

In consequence of this victory, the Russians crossed the gulf and seized Gothland ; but the island was soon recovered by the Swedes, and all the troops who had landed there were made prisoners. Buxhovden retreated for want of provisions, and Klingspor, harassing his rear, defeated him in two engagements. This success, however, he had not the means of prosecuting ; his force was too small to enable him to take advantage of the temporary weakness and distress of the enemy, and they were soon recruited in such numbers that he was no longer in a situation to maintain an effective resistance.

Instead of contending with a powerful army assisted by French engineers, and led by Swedish traitors who were well acquainted with the country, he commenced his retreat along the dreary coast of East Bothnia, pursued by the enemy for more than 400 English miles, and engaging them in frequent skirmishes without hazarding a general action. His men, although retarded with their sick and wounded, and carrying with them the whole of their artillery, magazines, baggage, and stores, shared the indomitable spirit of their general ; not a desertion took place, not a murmur was heard. The Russians had

expected that, as the gulf was impassable on account of the floating ice, the fugitives must either surrender or perish with hunger, before doubling the remote point at Tornea; but every attempt to intercept or surround them failed, until they effected a junction with another detachment of their countrymen under General Adlercreutz, when the enemy ceased their pursuit and collected their forces at Wasa. That town was immediately captured and devoted to plunder; and while the soldiers were perpetrating the most revolting atrocities in open day, their commanders, Generals Kniper, Demidoff, and Emine, encouraged them in the work of havoc, and shared in the participation of the spoil. The adjacent country presented a scene of devastation and wretchedness; villages were laid in ashes, and the miserable inhabitants either put to the sword, or dragged into captivity. Gustavus addressed a letter to the czar, conjuring him to put a stop to these atrocities, which could not fail, he said, to bring down on his person and government the curses of Divine Providence. In consequence of this remonstrance, Demidoff was dismissed from his command and ordered to St Petersburg.

When Wasa was evacuated by the Russians, Klingspor had advanced beyond that town, and endeavoured to maintain a position which would cover the most fertile parts of East Bothnia; but he was still unable to resist the overpowering numbers of the enemy. His line of operations extended 186 English miles, from Lindulax and Omyssa to Lappfiord; the corps stationed at the former place were driven back, and as the latter was also threatened and cut off from all communication with Lappo, the Swedes were compelled to retreat, after having repulsed their pursuers for three successive days. At Sikajoki the foe sustained a check; but they continued to advance, until Klingspor was driven back as far as Uleaborg; thus abandoning the whole province of Finland to the Russian invaders. Had his army been efficiently reinforced and well provided, the campaign might have terminated more gloriously; and it was an

additional misfortune, that he was not supported at an earlier period of the season by the auxiliary troops sent from England.

Pressed on every side by enemies whom his own unaided force was unable to repel, Gustavus had applied to Great Britain for assistance, and in addition to the stipulated subsidy of £1,200,000, an army exceeding 11,000 men, with a due proportion of ordnance, under the command of Sir John Moore, sailed from Deal, and arrived on the 17th of May at Gottenborg. No specific plan of operations had been decided upon by either party, nor were the conditions annexed to the supplies agreeable to the military views of his Swedish majesty. Instead of being placed absolutely at his disposal, the troops were to remain under the orders of their own general, and prohibited from engaging in any enterprise so far from the coast as to lose the means of communication with the fleet, or risk the power of embarking for England, should that be deemed proper or necessary. These stipulations did not meet the approbation of Gustavus, and to the astonishment of Moore, he was interdicted from landing, and obliged to keep the whole army nearly two months cooped up in crowded ships.

Meantime every effort was tried, in conjunction with Colonel Murray, and Mr Thornton, the British envoy, to obtain permission for the auxiliary force to act separately, and under the orders of their own commander-in-chief; but the king's objections were invincible, nor could his obstinacy be overcome, even after fresh instructions had been received from London, acquiescing so far in his wishes as to allow him the supreme direction of the troops within his own territories. It soon appeared, however, that he had other intentions than to confine their operations to the defence of Sweden. His first proposal to General Moore, when he had proceeded with Colonel Murray to Stockholm, was to employ them in the conquest of Zealand. To this project Sir John stated, as an insuperable obstacle, that it was contrary to the express orders of his government; and that as the

island was protected by 28,000 Danes, and 44,000 French, Spanish, and Dutch troops, who were stationed in Fionia and the neighbourhood, the enterprise was beyond their power, and altogether impracticable.

It was next proposed that the British should land at Viborg, in Russian Finland, storm that place, and threaten St Petersburg ; and when Moore, with his characteristic gentleness, represented the absurdity of exposing a mere handful of Englishmen to the overwhelming force of the imperial army, Gustavus adverted to the invasion of Norway, which seems to have been the destination originally intended for them, although reserved as a last alternative. A plan of attack was drawn up by Mr Tibell, the Swedish adjutant-general, but condemned at once by Sir John and Colonel Murray as utterly unfeasible. Nothing could move the obdurate temper of the king, who had already begun to manifest those symptoms of mental aberration which led soon afterwards to his expulsion from the throne. Insensible alike to the remonstrances of his allies and the dangers which threatened his country, he persisted in forbidding the British troops to land in Sweden, and at length issued a mandate for the arrest of General Moore, on learning that his instructions required him to embark immediately for England, as the time fixed for his departure had expired.

This arbitrary proceeding, which was viewed as an insult to the whole British nation, determined Sir John to attempt his escape from Stockholm. With the aid of Mr Thornton he contrived to reach Gottenborg (June 29) without interruption, and getting safely on board the ship of the admiral (Sir James Saumarez), he brought the army back to the Downs. Some apprehension was entertained that Gustavus would take advantage of this misunderstanding to make peace with France and Russia, by shutting his ports, or perhaps declaring hostilities against Great Britain. His own violence, indeed, might have provoked a rupture, by molesting the English shipping in the Baltic ; but his ministers dissuaded him

from committing an act of such rashness, and reminded him of the subsidy by which the exigencies of the war were supplied. The court of London, however, yielded to his wishes so far as to recall Mr Thornton, who had incurred his displeasure by remonstrating against the arrest of Sir John Moore. The imprudence of his conduct in reference to the expedition soon became manifest in the failure of all his military projects. With the assistance of 11,000 foreign bayonets he might have turned the tide of fortune against Russia. Bereft of their support, he no longer possessed the means of harassing Denmark on the side of Norway, or rescuing Finland from the grasp of the czar.*

An attempt was made to recover the southern part of that province, by landing a second army, under the command of General Vegesack, at Abo (June 8), to dispossess the Russians; but the force employed was insufficient for the enterprise, although, in the several conflicts that occurred, the Swedes displayed all their national bravery. After their defeat in the action at Orivais (September 14), an armistice was agreed to, which the Emperor Alexander refused to ratify. The troops under Field-marshal Count Klingspor, then at Uleaborg, continued to act on the defensive; but the ample reinforcement which their adversaries received so entirely precluded the hope of success, that they were compelled to accept the terms proposed. A convention was signed at Olkioki (November 19) by General Adlercreutz, in which he consented to evacuate all their posts in Finland, and retire behind the river Kemi, the boundary of the province.

On the frontier of Norway, Count Armfeldt was equally unfortunate. The advantages he gained were inconsiderable; and in that steril region the troops found it difficult to subsist. On entering the country,

* Life of Sir John Moore, vol. ii. p. 76-96. Russell's Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. vi. p. 208-213. Annual Register, 1808. Heeren, vol. ii. per. iii. pp. 384, 385. Daumont, Voyage en Suède, tome ii. c. 34. Thomson's Travels, chap. 6.

he issued a proclamation, stating, that as the Danish government had declared hostilities against Sweden without cause or provocation, and spontaneously submitted to a foreign yoke, the present invasion was justified by the laws of war. The Norwegians being unexpectedly attacked, made little resistance at first ; but they soon rallied, and co-operating with the Danish army, commanded by Prince Christian of Holstein-Augustenburg, they drove the invaders back with loss, and obliged them to pass the winter—one of the most severe ever remembered—encamped in the Dofrine mountains, amidst ice and snow. Their sufferings from cold and hunger were excessive ; while from the rigour of the season and the want of food, an epidemic broke out, which committed the most dreadful ravages over the whole kingdom. At Stockholm, the deaths increased from the ordinary average of seven or eight to seventy-five and even a hundred a-day. The army, at the extremity of the Bothnic Gulf, dispersed over frozen regions, where the houses are ten or twelve leagues distant from each other, experienced the fatal effects of that complication of destitution and disease, which soon cut off more than the swords of the enemy had destroyed. In that deplorable situation Marshal Klingspor, leaving General Clercker in charge of the troops, repaired to Stockholm to concert his plans for the next campaign. The Russians occupied the districts of Tornea and Uleaborg ; but being scattered over a vast extent of territory, the poorest in the world, they found it impossible to harass their antagonists, and the winter passed in torpid inactivity.

During the campaign, various unimportant actions took place between the flotillas of the belligerent powers in the Baltic. The Danes continued to harass the British commerce, which suffered grievous annoyance from that sort of petty warfare which gun-boats and privateers carry on to such advantage in foul and narrow seas. The English made severe retaliation ; one sloop alone, the *Falcon*, having in course of a few weeks destroyed no less than twenty-seven of the Danish small craft near

the island of Samsøe, all of which were adapted for the transportation of troops. Admiral Cherikoff, with a Russian squadron, made an attempt to burn the Swedish fleet, commanded by Admiral Naukhoff, in Virgin Bay (August 18), but the arrival of Sir James Saumarez forced the enemy to take shelter in Baltic Port, where the Swedes, with a reinforcement of some British ships under Sir Samuel Hood, kept them in blockade nearly two months, after capturing a Russian man-of-war of seventy-four guns.

Towards the end of the year, the cabinets both of London and St Petersburg advised Gustavus to make peace; but, with his characteristic obstinacy, he refused, and persisted in demanding fresh levies, to the extent of 100,000 men, for renewing hostilities. When the proposals of a treaty, emanating from the interview of the two emperors at Erfurt, were communicated to him by Mr Merry, the British envoy, he declared his unalterable resolution never to treat with the ruler of France; and his resentment against Alexander was almost equally implacable. From a statement that was published, exhibiting the financial situation of the government, it appeared that the English subsidy of £100,000 per month, was far from defraying the expenses of the campaign, which had cost almost three millions sterling. For the ensuing year nearly double that sum was required, which exceeded the whole circulating capital of the country, and amounted to no less than 23 per cent. on the aggregate property of the whole kingdom. In these circumstances he ventured to solicit an augmentation of the pecuniary grant from England; but the application proved fruitless, and in revenge he ordered all the British shipping in his ports to be detained,—a frantic resolution, which, at the suggestion of his ministers, was immediately countermanded. His indignation having abated, he agreed soon after to sign a new convention with Great Britain at Stockholm (March 1), when the latter engaged to pay him in advance £300,000, by quarterly instalments. This sudden change of policy was

dictated by the failure of his attempted accommodation with the King of Denmark, whom he had hoped to allure into a pacific treaty by disclosing his hostile intention towards England, and promising to obtain the restitution of his fleet.

But while this secret negotiation was pending, hostilities recommenced in Norway, and the province of Scania was threatened with invasion by an army of 25,000 Danes, who proposed to cross the Sound on the ice. A thaw having frustrated this expedition, the government of Copenhagen adopted a novel plan of attack, by transmitting balloons across the gulf, filled with printed proclamations, inviting the Swedes to revolt, and throw themselves under the protection of Denmark. On detecting this dishonourable stratagem, which was also employed by the Russian army in Finland, Gustavus broke off the negotiation, and offered a renewal of his alliance with England.*

Meantime a revolution was secretly fermenting in different parts of Sweden, which gave a new aspect to political affairs, and ultimately led to an alteration in the line of the regal succession. Various causes appear to have contributed towards the accomplishment of this event, amongst which the most influential were the public acts and personal failings of the king himself. In many respects he resembled the best of his progenitors. His private life was unimpeachable, and his zeal for the social and domestic improvement of his people unwearied. His devoted patriotism and inflexible honour were manifested in the resolute perseverance with which he alone of all the continental sovereigns rejected the offers and defied the power of the French conqueror. But there was in his constitution that family disease which had displayed itself in the eccentricities of Christina and the military madness of Charles XII. His unreasonable obstinacy, his capricious sallies of passion, his conduct towards Sir John Moore, and his whole

* Sketch of the Reign of Gustavus IV. part ii. Daumont, Voyage en Suède, tome ii. c. 34.

system of policy in the Finnish and Norwegian campaigns, were all symptoms of that mental derangement which rendered it necessary for the interests of the kingdom to put an end to his reign.

Besides these causes, others existed arising purely from incidental circumstances. The machinery of government was ill-compacted, and this defect became doubly mischievous when the helm of administration was guided by the hand of a prince who knew not how to regulate his own conduct. The long struggle between the crown and the aristocracy had left a rankling spirit, which even the blood of Gustavus-III. had not satiated. The discontent of the nobles was inflamed by the haughtiness of the king, who exacted the strictest etiquette at court, and was never approached except with the most ceremonious respect. Toward the close of 1808, he is said to have proposed rigorous measures for punishing the disaffected, but the threat, if really made, was in vain, as he had not the power of carrying it into effect. Many among the higher classes were imbued with that baneful attachment to the language and manners of France, which had contributed so fatally to the overthrow of the continental thrones; and this treasonable spirit both Denmark and Russia openly abetted by the unworthy means which they adopted to corrupt the loyalty of the Swedish people.

The exhausted and afflicting state of the nation added not a little to the prevailing dislike towards the existing government. The peasantry, oppressed and impoverished by multiplied assessments, were disposed to embrace any change that seemed to offer alleviation. With unexampled loyalty, they had granted every demand of their sovereign, and devoted life and fortune to the service of their country. A force of 110,000 soldiers and sailors, aided by foreign subsidies, might have protected Sweden against the aggressions of her enemies, had these vast resources been judiciously directed; but, with all his military ardour, Gustavus seemed incapable of conceiving or executing any regular plan of operations; hence the disastrous issue of the campaign in Finland,

where the troops were harassed with useless marches, and whole regiments perished from excessive fatigue, without having come in sight of the enemy. That province, the most fertile in the kingdom, and Pomerania, the last relic of the glorious conquests of the great Adolphus, were torn from Sweden ; and their loss was the more severely felt as they formed the granaries whence the inhabitants of Stockholm and most of the other seaports drew their supplies of fuel and provisions. Dearth and pestilence spread their ravages unchecked, until a third part of the army and the fleet was annihilated, and of the survivors nearly one-half were lingering in the hospitals.

The sight of these calamities had no effect in disarming the obstinacy of Gustavus, or altering his determination to prosecute the war. A fresh levy of 100,000 men, and additional supplies of money, were demanded ; but in the midst of these preparations, the cry against oppression and misgovernment became too loud to be suppressed. A widely-extended conspiracy had been formed by spreading disaffection among the troops, while a party of the mutineers held private meetings at Stockholm, to concoct their schemes of operation. It was finally resolved that the king should be arrested, and lodged in a fortress ; and that the Duke of Sudermania should be requested to act as administrator of the kingdom until the states were assembled.

The individual appointed to commence the rebellion was Lieutenant-colonel Adlersparre, a man of a bold enterprising spirit, who had then the command of two regiments stationed on the frontier of Norway. It was not difficult to excite sedition in an army ill-paid, half-naked, and starving ; with their spirits broken by protracted sufferings, and the hopelessness of the war in which they were engaged. At the head of four or five thousand men who occupied the province of Wermeland, he set out for Stockholm. On the 6th of March he entered Carlstadt and demanded quarters for his troops. The burgomaster refused, and was imprisoned ; but to disguise their real object, a proclamation was issued,

declaring their sole purpose to be, that the diet might have liberty to assemble and deliberate uncontrolled on the means of restoring the prosperity of Sweden. The arrears of pay were generally believed to be the immediate cause of the insurrection; and at Gottenborg the local authorities raised a loan of 20,000 rix-dollars for the troops in that district, to prevent them from joining the mutineers.

Their approach hastened the consummation of the plot at Stockholm. Gustavus was apprized of his danger, but disaffection had spread so widely among the military in the capital, that he could neither put down the rebels nor effect his escape. On the morning of the 13th, the principal conspirators, headed by old Marshal Kling-spor, who had been disgraced for not driving the Russians out of Finland, having gained admission to the palace, entered the presence-chamber, and began to remonstrate with the king on the miseries which he had brought on the country by his misgovernment. Baron Adlercreutz, who had undertaken the hazardous task of arresting his person, then told him sternly, that as all other means had proved ineffectual to make him adopt measures consistent with the exigencies of the times, it was now become necessary to use restraint. On finding himself thus circumvented, he exclaimed against their treachery, and drawing his sword, he attempted to run Adlercreutz through the body, when he was instantly overpowered and disarmed by General Silversparre. Raging with indignation, he called aloud for assistance; the noise attracted the guards and domestics, some of whom endeavoured to burst open the door to rescue their sovereign; but they were overawed by the authoritative demeanour of the baron, who seized the staff of office which the adjutant-general bore, and enforced a speedy retreat. Ascending to the guard-room, he remonstrated with the soldiers against any attempt to rescue his majesty, as it would only endanger his life, which otherwise was perfectly secure.

During this scene of confusion, Gustavus contrived to escape by a secret passage leading from his apartment to



View of Stockholm.

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the court below, and having seized the sword of an old officer whom he encountered in his flight, he hurried towards the only gate which was left unguarded. A pursuit was immediately ordered, when he was overtaken by Captain Greiff, whom he slightly wounded in the struggle; but the latter being tall and strong, caught him in his arms and carried him back in violent agitation to the palace. "Make way, my friends (he exclaimed, addressing the Pomeranian troops), you see the king is very ill, and I am bearing him to his chamber." The passage was instantly cleared, and for the remainder of the day the captive monarch continued quiet. On the same evening he was conveyed a prisoner to the castle of Drottningholm, and soon afterwards transferred to Gripsholm, where he remained till the end of December; Colonel Silversparre and a detachment of officers being charged with the custody of his person.

No commotion arose in the city on this remarkable occasion, nor did the arrest of their sovereign excite measures of counteraction among his adherents in any part of the realm. The Dalecarlians, it was said, were disposed to rise in his favour; and a plan was formed for releasing him and apprehending Adlersparre. At the head of this combination was Carlson, the provincial judge of Upland; but the design was betrayed either wilfully or inadvertently by a non-commissioned officer; and as the nation acquiesced in the proceedings of the malecontents, the revolution was tranquil and bloodless.

Having succeeded thus far, the insurgent party issued orders to the military not to leave the capital; a detachment was despatched to Adlersparre to hasten his march to Stockholm, and a deputation waited on the king at Sudermania to acquaint him with what had taken place, although, from his connexion with the plot, he must have been well aware of the new dignity which its success was to confer upon himself. In an interview with Adlercreutz and his two chief associates, he consented, though not without some apparent reluctance, on the

ground of his declining age and health, to take upon himself the functions of government, and attempt the arduous task of political regeneration.

On the same day that Gustavus was deposed, the Duke of Sudermania issued a proclamation, stating, that as the king was incapable of conducting the national affairs, he had been induced, as the nearest qualified member of the family, to act as administrator of the realm, and that he would endeavour to accelerate the revival of commerce, and promote the restoration of peace and prosperity. A meeting of the diet was summoned for the 1st of May, and a manifesto, explaining the causes and the necessity of the late changes, was issued by the duke, who now assumed the title of regent.*

The citizens of Stockholm had flattered themselves that the dethronement of Gustavus would speedily bring peace to Sweden; but their expectations were disappointed. Alexander and Frederick refused to treat with a government so insecure as a regency, and hostilities accordingly proceeded as if no alteration had occurred. The Russian army in Finland was separated into two grand divisions, acting in different parts of the country; the one at the extremity of the Bothnic Gulf was commanded by General Barclay de Tolly, and the other, in the south by General Knorring. So early as the end of February, the latter having collected his troops at Abo, marched across the ice with 25,000 men, and took possession of the island of Aland (March 17), an enterprise which had formerly been attempted without success. About the same time, Barclay de Tolly, setting out from Wassa, traversed the frozen gulf, and made himself master of the isles of Quarken and the town of Umea. When the Swedish troops had retired from Aland, Knorring granted a cessation of hostilities to allow them time to make overtures of peace; while De Tolly evacuated West Bothnia, and returned to Finland.

* Sketch of the Reign of Gustavus IV. part iii. Annual Register, an. 1809. Daumont, Voyage, tom. ii. c. 34, 35. Thompson's Travels, c. 7.

A third body of Russians, under General Schouvaloff, penetrated by the route of Tornea (the garrison of which they made prisoners) into Sweden; and having encountered the army of the North, commanded by Gripenberg, at Seivis (March 25), they compelled them to lay down their arms. This sanguinary action occurred entirely through ignorance, because in that remote latitude they had not been apprized of the armistice granted by Knorring. The truce was soon broken; war recommenced, and a detachment of Cossacks from Aland advanced as far as Grislehamn, within twenty leagues of Stockholm, where they arrived two days after the revolution. The regent immediately demanded and obtained a suspension of arms; the invaders retired, and Barclay de Tolly, at the same time, received orders to evacuate Umea and the whole of West Bothnia. France likewise consented to a cessation of hostilities, and the Prince of Hesse promised forbearance on the part of Denmark.

Meanwhile, the states of the realm assembled to deliberate on the situation of public affairs. One of their first acts was to pass a vote of thanks to Adlercreutz and the other leaders of the insurrection. A deed of abdication was produced, which had been obtained from the king, dated at Gripsholm, March 29, containing his voluntary renunciation of the crown, which he deemed it a sacred duty to resign; and expressing his regret that he could no longer exercise the royal functions consistently with the peace and welfare of the realm. Baron Mannerheim, after a long speech, in which he attributed the whole misfortunes of Sweden to the political and military misconduct of Gustavus, renounced all allegiance to him, and recorded his solemn declaration to that effect. The diet then issued their unanimous resolution (May 10), that as his majesty had violated his oath, the crown was forfeited, and the compact between him and his subjects irrevocably dissolved. Not deeming this a sufficient punishment for his mal-administration, it was further decreed, that his posterity, born and

unborn, should be for ever excluded from the throne and government of Sweden. Gustavus submitted quietly to his fate, and embarking about the end of December at Ystad, with his family, he proceeded to Stralsund, and thence continued his route by Hamburg to Carlsruhe. The subsequent actions of his life belong not to our history ; but from his projected journey to the Holy Land, with a retinue of modern crusaders, it appears that his malady was partly religious.

One of the principal objects of the diet and of the revolution, was the revision of the constitution of 1772, which was now generally considered as having allowed too dangerous an extension of the royal prerogative. The Duke of Sudermania having been elected king (June 6), under the title of Charles XIII., this change afforded a good opportunity for reducing and circumscribing the regal power. A new form of government was prepared, and assimilated as far as possible to that of England. The throne was pronounced to be hereditary, with limitation to the male issue ; the sovereign was required to profess the Lutheran religion, and to conduct the ordinary administration of business with the assistance of a state-council, to be appointed by him, and responsible for their advice. The members, who must be native Swedes, and of the established faith, were to consist of nine individuals,—the two ministers for judicial and foreign affairs, the chancellor of the court, and six councillors, one-half of whom at least must be civil officers.

The four secretaries of state were to sit in council, whenever any case belonging to their respective departments should be under consideration ; all matters except the foreign and diplomatic relations were to be submitted to the deliberation of the king and his legal advisers, of whom three at least required to be present ; (that number being necessary to constitute a council for the transaction of business) ; but he was not obliged to adopt their suggestions, and might by virtue of his prerogative decide in opposition to their votes or opinions.

In the event of his decision being repugnant to the laws of the realm, the assessors were bound to remonstrate and to record their protest, otherwise they should be deemed guilty of counselling and abetting him in his unconstitutional proceedings, as he was not held responsible for any act of his own. Before declaring war or concluding treaties, he was expected to state his motives to the council, and hear the sentiments which it was their duty to express. Of the army and navy he was to have the supreme command, and the ultimate determination in all matters relating to both services, assisted by the ministers of state for these departments. Civil and military employments were placed at his disposal, as also the appointment of archbishops and bishops ; but he could not remove a judge from office except for just cause, and on proof of criminality. He was not allowed to deprive any subject of life, liberty, or property, without a legal process ; nor could he arraign religious opinions, unless the profession or dissemination of them should appear to be injurious to the public.

The supreme court of justice was composed of six nobles and six commoners, whose continuance in office depended solely on their upright conduct ; the king had a double voice, and might pardon criminals, and mitigate or commute punishments. The deputies of the states were to be freely elected, and to enjoy liberty of speech during their deliberations. The diet was to assemble in the capital every fifth year, and the session was not to continue above three months, unless urgent business should demand an extension of that period. It was part of their duty to nominate a committee for superintending the freedom of the press, and inquiring into the conduct of the ministers and council.

No taxes could be imposed without their sanction, nor had the sovereign the privilege of negotiating a loan, or altering the currency, or alienating any part of the Swedish territory. Several changes and reforms of minor importance were at the same time effected. A decree of Gustavus, prohibiting the entrance of any Jews

into his dominions, was revoked ; and the fashion of wearing a white scarf round the left arm, which, since the revolution of 1772, had continued as a badge to distinguish the king's friends, was abolished. A pension was also granted to the deposed monarch and his family, after having ascertained the amount of his private property ;* and to obtain credit for economy, his successor gave up to the disposal of the states most of the royal palaces, with their gardens, parks, and dependencies. He likewise dismissed the household of the late sovereign, contenting himself with the same establishment as when Duke of Sudermania.

These important political reformatations occupied only the brief space of five weeks. The new constitution, by leaving some vexatious feudal grievances unredressed, did not altogether realize that universal satisfaction which its framers anticipated. The aristocracy had effected a revolution by violently deposing one king and electing another, to the unlawful exclusion of the here-

* The resolution passed by the states was, that the annual sum of £15,000 was required for the decent maintenance of Gustavus and his family. His own private property was found to be equivalent to £9000 a-year ; the remaining £6000 was to be contributed by the state. It was divided into three parts, one of which was assigned to the king, another to the queen, and the third to the children, so long as any of them should remain alive. Thomson's *Travels*, p. 141. *Annual Register*, an. 1809. Memorial du Colonel Gustafson (the deposed king), Leipsic, 1809, 8vo. The royal exile, after residing in Switzerland and Germany, and visiting Russia, England, and other parts of Europe, died in February 1837, in a state of poverty. The journals that record the event, mention, that he possessed only a small annuity of 2400 francs (£96), and always refused to accept any aid from his own private domains in Sweden, or from the late Emperor Alexander, who offered him an indemnity, which he resolutely declined. He travelled about always alone, without being waited upon by a servant. When mixing in general society, he was only distinguished from the rest by his delicate politeness. His son, Prince Gustavus Wasa, now a general in the Austrian service, endeavoured, by every ingenious contrivance, to render the existence of his father less miserable by supplying him with food, clothes, and other little comforts which he had not the means to procure. The young prince visited Edinburgh in 1820, where he witnessed (February 2) the ceremonial of the proclamation of George IV.—*Life of Sir Walter Scott*. vol. iv. p. 383.

ditary successor to the throne ; but they were unwilling to touch abuses or surrender immunities which involved the sacrifice of their own private interests. They obstinately refused to give up the exemption from certain taxes which their lands enjoyed, although there were some among the deputies for the peasants who demanded it with a manly spirit. Instead of the law which extended to all the sons of noblemen the right of assuming the title and exercising the privilege of nobility, it was proposed to substitute the principle of primogeniture. This reform, however, was only partly accomplished ; the king consented to the limitation of the title to the eldest son and heir, but it applied merely to those created under the new system, all the old nobility being left in the full possession of their exclusive prerogatives. However much the sovereign might have wished to commence his reign with a proceeding that would at once have increased the revenue and gratified the general body of the people, yet it was impossible for him to have carried these measures in opposition to that influential class who had raised him to the throne.

The exclusion of the son of the late king, and the advanced age of Charles, who was without children, rendered it necessary to settle the succession. The person selected was Prince Christian Augustus of Holstein Augustenburg, connected by birth with the ancient royal family of Sweden, and by marriage with the sovereign of Denmark, his elder brother having espoused Louisa, sister of Frederick VI. He was proposed on the 14th of July, and on the 28th of August the states confirmed his election. At that time he was governor of Norway, where he had endeared himself to the inhabitants by his excellent qualities, and the moderation he displayed as commander of the Danish army in that kingdom.

These changes in her domestic policy had not much altered the relations of Sweden with the neighbouring powers. Her wish to preserve a friendly intercourse with Great Britain gave offence to the Russian emperor, who refused to grant peace on any conditions, unless she

consented to shut her ports against the commerce of England. In addition to this stern demand, with which it was impossible to comply except at the expense of cutting off some of the daily necessities of life, Alexander exacted the still more cruel and injurious sacrifice of surrendering Finland and the isles of Aland, which he claimed by right of conquest. These extravagant pretensions, Charles hoped to evade or repel by soliciting the intervention of Napoleon ; but the victorious emperor was too intently occupied in humbling Austria to spend thought on the affairs of the North. Never, in truth, had Sweden more need of powerful mediation ; while pressed on one side by the menaces of the czar, she was strictly watched on the other by a British squadron in the Baltic, ready at the slightest intimation to blockade her ports and ruin her navy. In one day 200 vessels entered Gottenborg to remove the goods of English merchants, and resume hostile operations against their enemies in these seas.

The refusal of Charles to treat on the unjust terms proposed by Alexander, produced an immediate renewal of hostilities ; and an edict was published (June 1) to that effect, explaining the necessity for carrying on the war, and calling out the whole military force of the country. Fighting recommenced in West Bothnia, where the Russian general Erickson, who had under him a division of 7000 men at Pitea, attacked the Swedes under General Cronstedt, and drove them from their strong position at Skelleftea, which covered the magazines of the army. The Swedish commander-in-chief in that quarter, General Wrede, was obliged to retreat beyond Umea, abandoning that town and the whole province as far as Tornes to the possession of the enemy.

During these harassing operations, which continued for two months, the Swedes had to struggle against unprecedented difficulties, and always fought with an immense inferiority of numbers. A single battalion often repulsed four or five times as many of their assailants ; and when General Cronstedt was first attacked at Umea by

Barclay de Tolly, he had only 800 men to oppose 8000 Russians. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, they never lost courage, and evinced in the midst of their severest privations a bravery and perseverance worthy of the brightest era of their military fame.

As the province of Norrland, which was entirely destitute of fortresses and proper means of defence, could not be effectively protected without the aid of a fleet, Admiral Puke sailed from Stockholm about the middle of August with a squadron consisting of two ships of the line, three frigates, and about fifty gun-boats and transports, having on board nearly 10,000 troops under the command of General Count Wachtmeister. Large reinforcements were to be despatched at the same time to the army in the north, with the intention of attacking the enemy in front and rear, but this stratagem was defeated by the refusal of Baron Adlersparre's corps to quit the capital, where they had remained in garrison since the revolution. Meanwhile Admiral Puke, taking advantage of a thick fog, effected a landing near Umea; but the Russian general, Kamenski, was not to be taken by surprise, and having suddenly rallied his troops, he attacked the Swedes, and after an obstinate engagement, compelled them to retreat to their ships.

The expedition, however, did not altogether fail in accomplishing its object, as the enemy, alarmed lest their communication towards the north might be cut off, were obliged to evacuate a considerable part of the territory which they then occupied. The success of the Swedes was partly owing to the English cruisers in the Baltic, who seized vast numbers of Russian vessels laden with ammunition and provisions for the army. At length the czar became weary of a contest in which he found it difficult to victual his troops, or to derive any new advantages by continuing hostilities. Having given up the proposed exclusion of salt and colonial produce from Great Britain, the main obstacle in the way of negotiations was removed; peace was accordingly signed (Sept. 17) at Fredericksham, in which it

was declared, that henceforth the most perfect friendship and harmony were to subsist between the two states and their subjects.

By this treaty, which robbed Sweden of her finest provinces, the whole of Finland, comprising the governments of Kymengard, Nyland, Tavastehus, Abo, and Biorneborg, the island of Aland with its dependencies; East Bothnia, including Wasa, Uleaborg, and part of West Bothnia, extending to the river Tornea, with all the inhabitants, towns, fortresses, ports, islands, rights, and emoluments belonging to them; were ceded to Russia, to be incorporated with the empire in full property and sovereignty. In name of himself and his successors, Charles XIII. renounced all right to them, and engaged never to make any claim direct or indirect upon these territories. The only relationship permitted to continue between them, was that of commercial intercourse; the Swedes and Finlanders being allowed to trade as usual under certain restrictions, and to purchase annually a limited quantity of corn free of export-duty. Charles likewise promised to adhere to the continental system, and consent to close his ports against British shipping, reserving merely the importation of salt and colonial produce. The annexation of this immense province to Russia, if not the most splendid, was at least the most useful achievement in the reign of Alexander.*

The losses which Sweden had sustained in the war were computed at a third of her population, and about a fourth of her whole territory, with all the forts and bulwarks that commanded the eastern coasts of the two gulfs. Her internal situation was truly deplorable; those districts which had been the theatre of military operations were completely ravaged, the soil was left uncultivated, the pastures destroyed, the houses laid in ashes, and the cattle carried off for the use of the army. The inhabitants had either fled to avoid the violence and exactions of a ferocious soldiery, or perished of hunger

* Koch, *Revoluz.* tome ii. per. ix. Haeren, vol. ii. p. 305.

and sickness. Public subscriptions were immediately opened for their relief, and a generous sympathy with their sufferings was evinced in all parts of the kingdom.

Norway was subjected to privations and miseries equally severe. Its industrious unoffending peasantry, whom their rugged mountains and rude climate might be supposed to have kept apart from the scenes of revolution, were involved in the general convulsion, and cut off from all commerce—the chief source upon which they depended for food and raiment. No British articles were permitted to enter the country; and in consequence they were deprived of the most ordinary necessities of life; even needles and tobacco could scarcely be procured, and corn was not to be purchased except at an extravagant price. To the humanity of England the inhabitants were occasionally indebted for supplies, as her fleets allowed vessels to pass laden with provisions.

The negotiations between Sweden and Denmark were soon terminated, as neither party, after the treaty of Fredericksham, was in a situation to annoy the other. Matters being to remain precisely as they were before the war, nothing more was requisite than to draw up articles in form to that effect; and peace was accordingly concluded (Dec. 10) at Jonkoping between the two states, by which their relations were established on their ancient footing. The Danes had sustained little injury from the attempted invasion of Norway; but they experienced considerable loss and embarrassment from the English cruisers in the neighbouring seas. The island of Anholt, with its garrison of 130 men, was captured (June 18) by a detachment of seamen and marines under Captain Selby of the *Owen Glendower*; and before the British ships quitted the Baltic, on the approach of winter, they had seized in course of the year no fewer than 340 Danish vessels, with 90 belonging to Russia, most of which were taken by Sir James Saumarez in the port of Archangel. The presence of the fleet on the coasts of Jutland and Zealand caused so great a scarcity of provisions that horses were regularly slaughtered in Copenhagen, and their flesh sold at a high price in the com-

mon shambles. All the political transactions, both in Denmark and Sweden, betrayed the predominating influence of Napoleon, whose spies and emissaries were the secret moving-springs of all the northern governments. The Danish court, soon after the peace of Jonkoping, received an order to supply trigonometrical surveys of Sleswig and Holstein to the war-depot at Paris. His Swedish majesty concluded a treaty with France (Jan. 6, 1810) on the same humiliating terms as that signed at Fredericksham; conceding every thing that Bonaparte could require, and obtaining in return Pomerania with the isle of Rugen, both subjected, however, to heavy military exactions.

Meantime the Prince of Augustenburg, who, to the astonishment of foreign courts, had been chosen as heir to the throne, and founder of a new dynasty, set out for the Swedish capital; and on arriving at Gottenborg, where he made his entrance at midnight with a cavalcade of horsemen having torches in their hands, he proceeded to the governor's house through streets illuminated with 20,000 lamps. When he reached Stockholm (Jan. 24), the king introduced him to the assembly of the states, adopted him for his son, and gave him the name of Charles Gustavus. The crown-prince then took the appointed oaths, received the homage of his new subjects, and soon contrived by his affable and condescending manners to gain a large share of popularity.

He found the kingdom in a most distressed and exhausted condition. The public debt was estimated at forty millions, and for the last two years no part of the interest had been discharged. The different orders of the diet entertained discordant views on several questions of public importance. The nobles were desirous of altering the coronation oath, so as to retain for themselves that power which they had so often exercised to the injury of their country. They likewise attempted, with two of the other states, to seize the property of the Church by gradually abolishing episcopacy, and appropriating its revenues to secular purposes; but this revolutionary project was defeated by the representatives of the clergy.

Unfortunately, the hopes which the nation had founded on the virtues and talents of the crown-prince were prematurely disappointed. On the 10th of May he left Stockholm to visit the southern provinces; and while reviewing some hussar regiments near Helsingborg, he dropped from his horse and immediately expired of apoplexy. In ordinary times his death would have appeared perfectly natural; but the populace, who had been too much accustomed to conspiracies, suspected poison; and among the individuals singled out as the authors of this alleged crime was Count Axel Fersen, high-marshal of the realm.

This nobleman had served with distinction as a volunteer in the American war, and he was known at the court of Louis XVI. for his gallantries, and the favourable notice which he received from Marie Antoinette. Nothing could allay the suspicions of the people, and such was their extreme fury, that when the funeral-procession, headed by the count in a chariot with six horses, entered the capital (June 20), they assailed him with stones and other missiles, and shortly afterwards he was murdered on the spot, notwithstanding the assurance of General Adlersparre that he should be arrested and brought to trial.* Not content with one sacrifice, the mob threatened his sister the Countess Piper and Count Ugglas as accomplices in the crime. The queen herself was menaced, but the soldiers being compelled to charge in self-defence, the crowd was dispersed, leaving a considerable number killed and wounded. So deliberately was this tumult conducted that it had more the appearance of a preconcerted scheme than a sudden ebullition of popular rage.

* Annual Register, an. 1810. Russell's Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. vi. p. 300. Daumont, Voyage, tome ii. p. 319. Government immediately ordered a judicial investigation of the affair, and offered a reward of 20,000 rix-dollars to any person that could give such evidence as might convict the offender. The testimony of M. Rossi, chief physician to the deceased prince, left no reason to doubt that his death was caused by apoplexy; and the murder of the innocent count was generally attributed to the influence of French machination.

CHAPTER VI.

Reign of Charles John XIV. A. D. 1810—1837.

Competition for the Swedish Succession—Bernadotte elected Crown-Prince—His Arrival at Stockholm—Conduct of Bonaparte in this Affair—Sweden declares War against Britain—Hostilities between England and Denmark—French Intervention with Sweden—Declaration of War against Napoleon by the Courts of Stockholm and St Petersburg—The Campaign in Russia—Powerful Confederacy against France—Denmark enters into Alliance with Bonaparte—Campaign in Northern Germany—Battle of Leipsic and Defeat of Napoleon—Its important Consequences—War between Sweden and Denmark—Peace of Kiel—Frederick VI. joins the Grand Alliance against Bonaparte—Stipulations for ceding Norway—Bernadotte marches to the Rhine—the Allied Army enters Paris—Abdication of Napoleon—Insurrection in Norway—Prince Christian chosen Regent and proclaimed King—War declared—Campaign on the Norwegian Frontier—Treaty of Moss and Abdication of Prince Christian—New Constitution of Norway—Its Annexation to Sweden—Congress of Vienna—Escape of Napoleon and Defeat at Waterloo—Political and Territorial Arrangements of the Northern States—Advantages of the Union to Sweden and Norway—Able and Patriotic Administration of Charles John XIV.—Reflections on the Constitution and Present Condition of the Scandinavian Kingdoms.

THE sudden demise of Prince Christian offered to Napoleon an opportunity of extending his ambitious speculations beyond the Baltic, and adding another dynasty to that powerful confederation of brothers, relations, and principal officers, on whom he had already conferred so many of the ancient crowns of Europe. Under these circumstances, it was politic in his Swedish emissaries to transfer the imputation of Count Fersen's murder from themselves to a native nobleman, who was known to be so attached to Gustavus as to wish either

for his restoration or that of his son. The latter had made no resignation of his title, nor did his friends admit that his claims could be set aside on account of his father's errors or infirmities; but his party was too weak to hold out any prospect of success.

The candidates who aspired to the vacancy were the reigning Duke of Augustenburg; his serene highness, George, duke of Oldenburg (brother-in-law to Alexander), who was supported by the interest of Russia; and the King of Denmark, who expected to carry the election through the influence of Napoleon. To avoid the factious disturbances that agitated Stockholm, the diet assembled at Orebro (July 23), to select from the various competitors an heir to the throne. The secret committee appointed to examine their pretensions, rejected his Danish majesty on the ingenious allegation, that being already a sovereign, he could not hold the inferior office of crown-prince. Bonaparte affected to favour his claims, which were supported in the diet by the French envoy Desaugier; but he concluded at the same time, that the old enmity between the two nations would be a sufficient argument with the states to discountenance his election. The other candidates being similarly disposed of, it was then resolved to transfer the hereditary sceptre of the house of Holstein-Gottorp to a French soldier of fortune.

The personage destined for this high honour was John Baptiste Julian Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, a man of humble birth, who had raised himself to wealth and distinction by his personal merits, as one of the most celebrated officers in the army of Napoleon. He had acted a considerable time in Holland and the north of Germany, where he earned the reputation of high political as well as military talents,—more especially during his administration in Hanover and his command of the Hanseatic towns. His abilities as a statesman, and his brilliant exploits as a warrior, had already introduced his name to the Swedish people, who had experienced his friendship while administrator of Pomerania, and were now invited, by the most flattering panegyrics

on his public and private virtues, to declare him successor to the throne. As an additional inducement, it was alleged that his election would not only secure the undisturbed enjoyment of peace, but might lead to the recovery of Finland and the confiscated provinces in Germany.

He was proposed to the diet by Charles XIII. himself (August 18), in a speech highly commendatory of his general character, and his peculiar fitness to preside with advantage over the future destinies of the kingdom. After a short deliberation, this fortunate candidate was chosen by the unanimous suffrages of the assembly; but out of more than a thousand of the nobility who had a right to appear on that occasion, only one hundred and forty were present. To this decision a condition was annexed, that before entering the Swedish territory he should embrace the Lutheran religion.

On receiving intelligence of this good fortune, Bernadotte, who had already been apprized that he was the object of the national wishes, quitted Paris with the consent of Napoleon, and immediately set out for his adopted country. On the 19th of October he arrived at Elsinour, where he was honoured with the congratulations of the principal Danish nobles, and where he made solemn profession of the Protestant faith before the Archbishop of Upsala and the Bishop of Lund. An hour's passage brought him safely to Helsingborg, whence he proceeded on his journey to Stockholm, gratifying the crowds that awaited his approach by occasionally travelling on foot, and addressing the peasantry in their vernacular language. At the limits of each province he was received by the governors, whom he condescendingly seated in his carriage, and conversed with them on the state of affairs and the situation of the country. By these popular acts, and the agreeable familiarity of his manners, he conciliated the affections of his new subjects, who regarded his elevation as the era of their returning prosperity, and the restoration of their ancient military glory.

On the 2d of November he was presented to the diet

and addressed the king and the estates in a speech more complimentary to the former than he deserved, considering his unfeeling treatment of his brother's children, but not more so than the occasion might be thought to require. His sentiments and language, when speaking of the arduous duties he had undertaken, were those of a patriotic sovereign rather than of a foreign soldier nurtured in the revolutionary wars of France. He assured the assembly of his unfeigned gratitude, and his firm resolution to devote the remainder of his life to the happiness of a brave and magnanimous people. The oaths of allegiance were then taken, and next day the ceremony of his adoption as son and heir to the reigning monarch took place, when he received the name of Charles John. The diet broke up on the 12th, one of its last acts being an edict prohibiting Gustavus and his family, on pain of death, from ever entering the Swedish territory. Thus, by one of those capricious vicissitudes which often change the aspect of the political world, was a stranger permitted to supersede the high claims of the illustrious family of Wasa, and to erect a new dynasty in a land with which he had no connexion.*

* Bernadotte was a native Frenchman, born 26th January 1764, at Pau, a town near Bayonne, in the department of the Lower Pyrenees. He received a good education, and is said to have been intended for the law, which was his father's profession. At the age of sixteen, however, he forsook his studies, and enlisted as a private in the Royal Marines. In this capacity he served in the East Indies, and at the age of twenty he was promoted to the rank of sergeant, on the return of his corps to France in 1783. In 1789, when stationed at Marseilles, he performed the daring exploit of quelling a mutiny of the people and the soldiers, who had threatened the life of the Marquis d'Ambert, colonel of the Royal Marines. Shortly after this period, he was appointed clerk to the parliament of his native town; and when the National Guards were established there, he became their adjutant. It was now that the Revolution opened a lottery in life, the event of which has conducted him to a throne, and left him almost the sole great leader in the war, who shared its rewards unstained by its crimes. In 1793 his talents, though limited to a provincial sphere, procured for him the colonelcy of the 72d regiment of the line, which was attached to the army of Custine under Kleber, then employed against the royalists in the north and west of France. That officer soon discovered his superior merits, and promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general. Before the end of 1794 he was general of a division, and in the various

That the Swedes by this act intended to propitiate Napoleon, as well as to provide for their own security, by choosing a prince admirably qualified to contend with the difficulties by which they were surrounded, are matters of historical notoriety. But the event showed that they were not aware of the real sentiments

campaigns on the Rhine and in Italy, he commanded with distinguished success. After the battle of Rivoli he was sent to Paris by Bonaparte, to present to the Directory the colours taken at Peschiera. At the peace of Campo-Formio (October 1797) between Austria and France, he was quartered with his division at Treviso, when he received from the Directory the appointment of ambassador at Vienna,—a situation which he soon resigned in consequence of his high republican sentiments. He was proffered an embassy to Holland, but this he declined; and it was not till 1799 that he again took an employment, when he was made commander-in-chief of the army of observation acting on the Lower Rhine with General Jourdan. In order to give fresh vigour to the campaign, he was recalled from the army by the Directory, and placed in the war department. His administration, owing to the mutual jealousies of the faction then at the head of affairs, was short, and he again retired into privacy. He had not been offered a command in the expedition to Egypt, but the return of Napoleon to Paris, and the state of public affairs, again drew Bernadotte from his retirement. The revolution of the 18th Brumaire unseated the Directory, and placed Bonaparte at the head of the nation as First Consul. These proceedings, though not approved of, were not decidedly opposed by Bernadotte who was on the spot at the time, ready, as is alleged, to head any part of the military that might be disposed to declare for the Directory. Like many others, he submitted reluctantly to the consular system, although he accepted the office of councillor of state, and the command of the army destined to extirpate the royalists in La Vendée. His refusal to second the designs of Napoleon for overthrowing the Directory, was the root of that secret dislike and animosity which subsisted during the remainder of their lives. This enmity the first consul did not display openly, but it led him to intrust Bernadotte with dangerous and difficult enterprises, such as the Vendean insurrection, which fortunately his courage and prudence enabled him to surmount. When Bonaparte assumed the Imperial title, Bernadotte acquiesced, and addressed to him a very flattering harangue, in which he took a formal leave of those republican doctrines which he had so ardently professed. These acts were probably dictated by the necessity of the times; and proceeded no doubt from a sincere affection for his country, and a desire to have those disorders suppressed, which were daily plunging it deeper in anarchy and blood. The new emperor conferred upon him the dignity of marshal, and appointed him general of the army in Hanover. In the campaign of 1805, which ended with the battle of Austerlitz and the annihilation of the Austrian power, he bore a conspicuous part; and was created in

of the French emperor. Although Bonaparte gave the crown-prince permission to become a candidate, and expressed his satisfaction at the prospect of his election, he endeavoured nevertheless by clandestine intrigues to defeat its accomplishment. He had long been suspicious of his attachment, and accused him of conniving at the escape of Romana and the Spanish auxiliaries, already noticed. He looked upon him as a rival whose greatness too nearly approached his own, ever to admit of his becoming a vassal; but as he durst not venture openly

June 1806 Prince of Ponte Corvo. In the war with Prussia he held the command of one of the centre divisions of the grand army, when among other exploits he defeated the enemy's body of reserve under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, and had the honour, after the battle of Jena, of receiving the surrender of Blücher under the walls of Lubeck, in conjunction with Murat and Soult. The wound which he received at the bridge of Spandau (25th Oct. 1806) obliged him to quit the army, and surrender his command to Marshal Victor. In 1808 he was sent with an army into Denmark; and when a fresh war broke out with Austria in 1809, he was intrusted with the command of the Saxons. At the battle of Wagram he was censured by Napoleon as being tardy in his movements, although he succeeded in preventing General Bellegarde from joining the Archduke Charles. On the landing of the English expedition at Walcheren, he was charged with the defence of Flanders and Holland, but neither in this service had he the good fortune to please the emperor. By the intrigues of Fouché he was deprived of his command in Belgium, and sent back to the north of Germany. His administration at Hamburg was conciliating and merciful compared with that of his predecessors, Mortier, Michaud, and Brune. In August 1798 he had married Eugénie Clary, daughter of a rich French merchant established at Genoa, and sister to the wife of Joseph Bonaparte. Through this connexion he had the advantage of an alliance with the Imperial family. The bad terms on which he stood with Napoleon, who suspected his political opinions, and was jealous of his great abilities, were manifested on various occasions, and on none more strongly than when elected Crown-prince of Sweden; for although he pretended to approve of the appointment, he secretly endeavoured to defeat it. From the moment the first overtures respecting the election were brought to Paris by Baron Moerner, Bonaparte could not conceal his chagrin at the event. "We have not understood each other (he remarked to a friend while conversing on the subject); he has his own interests, his own policy, and I have mine; besides, he does not love me." Of all these circumstances the Swedes were ignorant; but they had imbibed a sincere esteem for his person and character, as having shown himself, while administrator of Pomerania, in a peculiar manner the friend and protector of the Swedish nation. The remainder of the history of this prince is narrated in the text.

to dictate to Sweden in the choice of her sovereign, he gave his reluctant approbation to an appointment which he could not prevent, and which he would much rather have seen conferred on another. He endeavoured, however, to exact from Bernadotte such a guarantee of his dependence on France, as would have completely neutralized any offensive operations. When the prince applied to him for letters-patent emancipating him from his allegiance,—a request which could not be decently withheld,—an insulting and unreasonable condition was proposed, “that he should previously bind himself never to bear arms against Napoleon.” This engagement it was impossible to subscribe, after he had become the subject of a foreign state, and heir to an independent crown.

There were other instances of the rooted dislike and jealous apprehensions with which Bonaparte viewed the elevation of his former companion in arms. He had promised him two millions of francs as an indemnity for the principality of Ponte Corvo, and other possessions which had been assigned him in Holland ; and although these were restored on his ceasing to be a subject of France, yet only one-half of the money was ever paid. As a temptation to allure his ambition away from Scandinavia, he pretended a design of conferring upon him the kingdoms of Arragon and Catalonia, “because he considered Spain too great a country for his brother’s strength of capacity.” In all these professions he acted with his usual insincerity ; still, for a time the language and outward appearances of friendship were preserved. Until his departure, the prince seems to have reposed full confidence in the kind intentions of the emperor, who had permitted all his aides-de-camp to accompany him, and given assurances of his continued support.* But this illusion was of short duration. The infirmities of Charles XIII. soon devolved upon Bernadotte the supreme command of the national forces, and the general direction of the administration. It was then that the schemes of Napoleon for establishing his

* Scott’s *Life of Napoleon*, vol. vi. c. 53. Appendix. *Reflections on the Conduct of Napoleon towards the Prince-Royal of Sweden.*

ascendency over Sweden began to be unfolded. The French envoy at Stockholm, Baron Alguier, intimated his master's wish to form a closer connexion with that kingdom; and even proposed that it should join in a confederacy with Denmark and the grand duchy of Warsaw, to assist him in the approaching war with Russia. Failing in the artful project of creating a northern coalition, he assumed a more imperious tone, and threatened the Swedish government with the consequences of his resentment, unless they openly arrayed themselves under his standard, and made common cause with him against his enemies—more especially by repressing what he designated the contraband trade of Great Britain in the Baltic.

Bernadotte had sagacity enough to perceive that these demands would prove utterly ruinous to the peace and prosperity of Sweden. Her seas were stocked with fish, but the want of salt to preserve them greatly circumscribed this abundant source of nourishment. Her mountains were clothed with woods, and richly impregnated with iron and copper; but these natural productions required to be converted into articles of domestic consumption, which could only be done by foreign commerce. These considerations were of the most vital importance to a country exhausted by a sanguinary struggle, and stript of so large a portion of its territory; but the arrogant impatience of Bonaparte, rendered doubly irritable by the defeat of his best generals in the Spanish peninsula, would listen neither to reason nor remonstrance. In a conference with the celebrated Baron Lagerbjelke, the Swedish minister at Paris, he complained of the backwardness they had shown to aid his projects; and threatened to confiscate their vessels on the Continent, and to cause the Danes and Russians to attack the kingdom, unless within fifteen days they ceased to hold commercial or friendly intercourse with Britain. Finding no alternative left but compliance, or the immediate invasion of his dominions, the crown-prince yielded to a necessity which he could not resist; and in little more than two weeks after his arrival in

the North, he adopted the continental system, and declared war against England.

Ever since the peace of Jonkoping, Denmark had entered into all the projects of the French emperor, and even furnished him with 6000 seamen to be employed in the Spanish war. Instead of asserting the rights and enjoying the benefits of neutrality, she co-operated with France in enforcing the anti-commercial system against Great Britain,—a line of policy which occasioned severe retaliation, and plunged the kingdom into deeper distress. A flotilla had been equipped the preceding year, under the command of Captain Mortgaer, for attacking the Isle of Anholt, then in possession of the English, who had formed an establishment there, and erected a fort for its protection. The attempt was deferred until spring, in consequence of the frost; and on the 27th of March 1811, the expedition, consisting of twelve transports and as many gun-boats, appeared off the island and endeavoured to effect a landing on two opposite points. Captain Maurice, who commanded the British, foiled all their efforts to storm his batteries; and after a spirited conflict they were defeated, with the loss of several vessels and more prisoners than the whole amount of the English garrison.

The proclamation of hostilities by Sweden, was rather a confession of fear or weakness than an indication of enmity towards Britain. No disposition was evinced to abandon her neutrality, or adopt violent measures; and if she ordered the sequestration of British property, it was merely to silence the calumnies of those who accused her of throwing obstacles in the way of a general peace. Aware of the causes that had extorted this manifesto, the power against whom it was directed was more likely to compassionate than resent such a proceeding; and accordingly the declaration of war made no perceptible difference in the relations between the courts of London and Stockholm. It was evident that Bernadotte had determined to act as a Swede, not as a Frenchman; and to promote the interests of his adopted country, rather than bend to the dictates of his former

patron. The continental system was allowed to languish, while an amicable intercourse was maintained with Sir James Saumarez, who had been sent with a considerable fleet of observation to the Baltic. .

Bonaparte was highly offended at the want of zeal in his northern ally ; he complained that his hostile demonstrations were a vain pretence ; and at length discovered that his former associate in arms, far from holding out expectations of assistance, evidently inclined to the interests of his adversaries. Numerous communications, filled with menaces and reproaches, passed between the two sovereigns. The language of Bernadotte was honourable to his patriotic feelings, and clearly indicative of his sentiments towards France. Sweden, he said, had consented to declare war against England, notwithstanding every consideration which her safety opposed to that measure. In the sad condition to which she was reduced, peace alone afforded the only hope of repairing by agriculture and commerce the losses she had sustained ; of re-establishing her finances, recruiting her military system, and improving her administration ; yet she had ventured on hostilities without a single battalion ready to march, without arsenals or magazines, and what was still worse, without the means of defraying the expenses of so hazardous an enterprise. Her inhabitants were by nature warriors, and her constitution allowed of 80,000 men being levied ; a force that could easily be raised, but which it was impossible to support without foreign aid. The law forbade the king to impose new taxes without the consent of the states, while the rupture with England had just destroyed one of the chief branches of public revenue—the produce of the customs, amounting to more than six millions of francs yearly. These reasons, together with his sincere wish to live in harmony with France, he considered amply sufficient to justify him in avoiding a contest which would entail heavy sacrifices, and in the end must prove unfortunate. The indignation of the French emperor knew no bounds ; he revoked all the promises he had made to the crown-prince, recalled his aides-de-

camp, and even threatened him with the fate of the Duke d'Enghien. This menace, it is alleged, he seriously intended to put in execution; a plot being actually formed to seize his person in the neighbourhood of Haga, and carry him prisoner to France. But the object of the conspirators was defeated by the information of an officer named Salazar, who gave timely notice of the meditated outrage.

The prospect of hostilities with England was far from being agreeable to the Swedish nation. Reports were propagated throughout the kingdom, that it was the intention of the crown-prince to establish the French power in the Baltic, and finally, by a war for the recovery of Finland, to co-operate with Napoleon in his designs against Russia. So strong was the popular discontent that, in consequence of a new law of conscription, insurrections broke out in the provinces of Scania and Sudermania (July 1811), which it required all the prudence and energy of the government to suppress.

From the peremptory tone and increasing exactions of Bonaparte, it was obvious that Sweden could not much longer remain in a state of neutrality or peace with her neighbours. He had ordered her to exclude the British and Americans from her ports, upon whom she depended for the disposal of three-fourths of her produce. His next demand was the introduction of the tariff of August 5, 1810, imposing a duty of 50 per cent. upon all colonial goods, and the establishment of French douaniers (collectors of customs) at Gottenborg and other towns on the Swedish coasts. Another proposal was for a body of troops to act against the patriots in Spain, and a sufficient number of seamen to complete the crews of four ships of the fleet stationed at Brest; all expenses to be defrayed by the emperor. To these several applications a decided negative was returned. Baron Engestrom observed in his reply, that by the constitutional law the king could raise no new levies except with the consent of the states; but that with regard to officers in the navy, there could be no obstacle to their entering the French service.

Professions of friendship and threats of vengeance having proved alike unsuccessful in binding Sweden to the will of the conqueror, his measures now assumed a character of direct hostility. French privateers appeared in the Baltic, and seized, one after another, nearly a hundred of her merchantmen. The Swedish envoy at Paris complained loudly of these depredations, and the losses which thence resulted to the nation ; but his remonstrances were ineffectual, for he could neither obtain compensation nor the surrender of the captured vessels. Not satisfied with condemning them as lawful prizes, under pretence that they were furnished with English licenses,—not content with seizing small coasters in the Sound, laden with provisions and the produce of home manufactures,—the French government sequestered Swedish property and shipping in the German ports, and even treated their seamen as prisoners of war, sending them in irons to man the fleets at Antwerp and Toulon. The presence of the British cruisers imposed a certain check on these outrages ; but when the season of the year obliged them to withdraw, acts of piracy and violence were renewed with increased activity. The Swedish flotilla had orders to retaliate, and were compelled to protect their flag and commerce against the reiterated attacks of a power which had resolved to treat as enemies all states that were on friendly terms with Great Britain.

In addition to these annoyances by sea, the Prince of Eckmühl, who commanded the revolutionary army in the north of Germany, ordered General Friant, with 20,000 troops, to seize Pomerania (January 27, 1812), and take possession of the capital. Rugen was immediately afterwards occupied by the French, who took the commandant prisoner, and detained in their service all the ships and packets on the coast. In the month of February, a fleet, with General Engelbert on board, arrived at Stralsund to bring off the Swedish troops ; but he was not permitted to communicate with the shore. The violent and dictatorial course pursued by Napoleon made it impossible for the court of Stockholm to stand

in any other relation towards him than that of a hostile power. It cannot be laid to their charge that they acted with precipitation ; for it is manifest that they were anxious to prevent the miseries of war, and had scrupulously maintained their neutrality until every peaceful obligation was dissolved.

Meanwhile the views and inexhaustible resources of Bonaparte were directed towards another quarter, where his daring and sanguinary ambition was at last to meet its due reward from the unerring hand of retributive justice. For some time the friendship between the courts of St Petersburg and St Cloud had been growing cool. The extension of the French empire to the towns on the Baltic had become a subject of suspicion and anxiety to Alexander, who, instead of opposing these insidious encroachments, was wasting his strength in a war of aggression against the Turks and Persians. The first symptom of discontent which he exhibited, was his abandoning the continental system (December 13, 1810), by an ukase interdicting the produce of France, wine only excepted. The seizure of the duchy of Oldenburg (February 28, 1811), the patrimony of his family, was an outrage of such a personal nature that a rupture became unavoidable. Napoleon professed a wish to enter into negotiations, with a view to a general pacification, but his artifices could not deceive the czar.

An allurements was held out to Sweden, notwithstanding all friendly relations must have been regarded as broken by the occupation of Pomerania, to become the ally of France, by an offer to relinquish that province ; and also to compel Alexander to restore Finland, if she would consent to furnish 30,000 troops to co-operate with his army against Russia. The acceptance of these seductive propositions would have proved as ruinous to the interests as it was contrary to the inclinations of the Swedish government, who could not overlook the fact, that a state of active warfare with so powerful a neighbour, was utterly incompatible with their diminished strength and resources ; the necessary expense of a single campaign requiring not less than twelve or

fifteen millions of rix-dollars. Besides, it would have exposed their commerce and their coasts to the destructive vengeance of the English fleet in the Baltic, and thus created additional misery at home without any certain prospect of territorial augmentation. The restitution of Pomerania was an act which common justice demanded ; but a war undertaken to reconquer Finland would only accumulate heavier losses, which the nation was not in a condition to support ; and even though repossession were obtained, how was it to be defended, when their shipping, their trade, and their finances, were annihilated ? The proposed alliance with France, while it exacted in the first instance the surrender of their independence, would have conducted by degrees to all the sacrifices which undermine the prosperity and complete the degradation of states.

Scorning the versatile and temporizing policy which had drawn so many other kingdoms into the fatal snare, Sweden resolved to make an appeal once more to the courage, the loyalty, and patriotism of her children. On the 20th of April (1812) the king assembled a diet at Orebro, and opened the session by a speech in which he announced, in terms by no means equivocal, the principles of his government, and his resolution to maintain inviolate the national independence, as well as to emancipate its commercial industry from all foreign embarrassments ; thus clearly intimating his abandonment of the continental system. Orders were immediately despatched to the coast, to afford British ships in distress the assistance which they might require. Mr Thornton, who then held no public character at Stockholm, was received as the accredited minister of Great Britain ; and on the 12th of July, peace was concluded at Orebro between the two kingdoms ; the latter having previously (June 23) revoked the orders in council of January and November 1807, imposing certain restrictive conditions on the trade with neutral countries.*

* A similar treaty was concluded (July 18), at the same place, between Russia and Great Britain. The peace with Turkey had already (May 28) been signed at Bucharest. The conduct of Swe-

A treaty with the czar had for some time been contemplated, and a Russian general was already at Stockholm for the purpose of conducting the negotiations. Some difficulties, however, having arisen, a personal interview between the crown-prince and the emperor was decided upon ; and accordingly, these distinguished personages met at Abo, on the 28th of August, about ten days after the diet had closed its proceedings. The result of the conference was satisfactory to both parties ; and according to Bourienne, it was even hinted that Bernadotte was destined to replace Napoleon on the throne of France. By a convention which had been signed at St Petersburg some months before (April 5), Alexander agreed that Norway should be secured to Sweden ; and that a body of 25,000 or 30,000 Swedes should co-operate with his forces in making a diversion against Bonaparte on the coasts of Germany. This arrangement was now modified ; the emperor having stipulated that the conquest of Norway should not be undertaken until a later period ; and that the Russian troops destined for that expedition should be transported to Riga for the protection of his own dominions against the invasion threatened by France.

The preparations of Bonaparte were on a scale of unexampled magnitude, and seemed proportioned to the vast enterprise which he had undertaken, of annihilating the independence of the North,—the last barrier that opposed his infatuated career. Fire and rapine marked the course of the invading army. The ancient capital of Russia, where the conqueror hoped to find repose, was laid in ashes, and proved at once the limit of his expedition and the tomb of his greatness. The flames of that awful conflagration—an heroic sacrifice to avert the doom of the empire—proved the first dawn of returning liberty to Europe. Of the hosts that crossed the Niemen, a miserable remnant fled through deserts of their own creating, only to be overtaken by the avenging swords of the

den in declaring war against France, was ably vindicated in the letters of the Crown-Prince to the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon. Meredith's Memorials of Charles John, pp. 148, 151-156, 190.

enemy. Their leader himself escaped in disguise, and reached Paris (Dec. 18), the harbinger of his own defeat. The estimated loss by death and captivity during this fatal campaign, was reckoned at 450,000, most of whom perished in the disastrous casualties of the flight.*

The measures adopted by Sweden had a considerable influence on the fortune of the war. In the north of Germany a French corps was kept in check by the troops assembled in Swedish ports; and at the moment when the invader was marching on Smolensko, a force of 18,000 Russians in Finland were released, by suspending the immediate fulfilment of the treaty with the court of Stockholm, and thus left at liberty to join Count Wittgenstein, whose active exertions mainly contributed to the irrecoverable blow which the enemy received in crossing the Beresina.

Although discomfited and dejected, Napoleon resolved to make the experiment of another campaign, and by a decree of the senate (Jan. 11, 1813) a new conscription of 350,000 men was placed at the disposal of the government. A formidable league, however, was organized in the north, which put a check to the career of havoc and revolution which for sixteen years he had pursued with almost uninterrupted success. His refusal to reimburse the King of Prussia for the vast sums he had advanced in furnishing supplies to the French army, served as a pretext to Frederick-William for shaking off an alliance so contrary to the true interests of his kingdom. An appeal was made to the nation, and in a few weeks 128,000 troops under Blucher were ready to take the field. This defection led to a treaty with Russia, which was signed (Jan. 27) at Kalisch, and afterwards confirmed (Feb. 28) at Breslau.

Sweden also resolved on offensive measures, and issued a manifesto of the numerous injuries that had forced her into a declaration of hostilities. On the 3d of March she concluded at Stockholm an alliance with England,

* Heeren, vol. ii. per. iii. p. 317-323. Slain, 125,000; died of hunger, cold, and fatigue, 132,000; prisoners, 193,000. Scott's *Life of Napoleon*, vol. iii. p. 238.

by which she pledged herself to employ a corps of 30,000 men, to act with the troops furnished by Russia and Prussia against the common foe of Europe ; and to grant to British shipping, for twenty years, the right of entrepôt in the ports of Gottenborg, Carlshamn, and Stralsund. Great Britain, on the other hand, according to the engagements already subsisting between the courts of Stockholm and St Petersburg, bound herself not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but to co-operate with a naval armament, should the King of Denmark decline to join the grand alliance against France. She agreed, moreover, to advance Charles XIII. a subsidy of £1,000,000 sterling for the service of the approaching campaign ; and to give up the possession of the island of Guadaloupe in the West Indies (a promise which was not fulfilled), on condition that British subjects in the colony should be protected, and all vessels excluded belonging to the enemies of England.

While the other northern states were preparing to resist France with their combined strength, Denmark evinced no inclination to imitate their example. She had abetted the confederacy against Russia, and aided the views of Bonaparte by occupying the German coasts with her troops. Her seamen manned the French fleets ; her privateers annoyed the trade, and her ports were shut to the commerce of England ; and when the invading army was in full march upon Moscow, she declared, in reply to an appeal from the emperor, her resolution to stand or fall with the destinies of Napoleon. After the evacuation of that city, and when the fate of the fugitive conqueror was yet uncertain, the Danish ambassador at St Petersburg showed a disposition towards reconciliation ; but when endeavours were made at Stockholm to follow up these pacific demonstrations, the government disavowed the professions of their envoy, and continued their adherence to the continental system.

Meantime warlike preparations, ominous of great events, were organized on a more gigantic scale than Europe had hitherto beheld. The last scene was ap-

proaching of that bloody tragedy which had occasioned a most appalling expenditure of human life, and spread misery and desolation over the continent. On the one side were arrayed Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Britain, Spain, Portugal, and Austria. The confederates of France were Italy, Holland, Denmark, Bavaria, Saxony, and the other states of Northern Germany. At no former period had Napoleon commanded a more numerous army, or occupied more favourable positions for resisting the attacks of his adversaries ; but he had now to oppose a combination of talent and a reaction of national impulses, such as he had never before encountered.

In this memorable campaign, none of the allied generals bore a more distinguished part than the Crown-prince of Sweden, by whom the plan of operations is said to have been originally sketched. Early in May (1813) he embarked with his troops at Stockholm, and proceeded to Carlscrona, where he issued a spirited address, announcing the causes and objects of the war. On the 18th he arrived at Stralsund to take command of the forces, amounting to 90,000 men, which Russia and Prussia had engaged to place at his disposal. At Berlin he fixed his head-quarters, with a view to act against the enemy as circumstances might require. Detachments of the allies had already driven the invaders from Hamburg, Lubeck, and Lauenburg, from the duchy of Mecklenburg, and Swedish Pomerania ; but the Danes and French under Davoust occupied the two first-named cities (May 30), which were subjected to all the horrors of pillage and devastation. Numerous engagements during the summer months had taken place in Saxony, the chief theatre of the war, from which Napoleon had suffered so severely that he was obliged to solicit a truce. An armistice was concluded (June 4) at Poischvitz, and this interval the confederated sovereigns employed in contracting new engagements with foreign courts, and arranging those treaties of alliance and pecuniary subsidies with Britain and Austria, which constituted the sixth grand coalition against France, and ultimately led to the restoration of the Bourbons. The appearance of

an English fleet off Copenhagen, demanding the cession of Norway, induced Frederick VI. to form an alliance with Bonaparte (July 10), and declare war against the other Baltic powers. At the same time a reinforcement of 12,000 Danish soldiers, commanded by the Prince of Hesse, were ordered to join the army under Davoust.

Hostilities were resumed (August 10), when the cities and plains of Poland, Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, and Silesia, were once more deluged with the blood of contending nations. In this sanguinary strife, victory declared unequivocally for the allies; and on various occasions they owed their success to the prudent dispositions of the Prince-royal of Sweden. The plan of the campaign, as arranged in a conference held at Trachenberg, was to allure Bonaparte from his asylum at Dresden, and draw him into a situation more accessible to the combined operations of his antagonists. In this scheme they succeeded entirely to their wishes; and Leipsig, which had so often witnessed the triumphs of civil and religious liberty under its walls, was again destined to see the freedom of oppressed Europe vindicated and restored on its classic soil; where nearly half a million of combatants were assembled, exhibiting a strange diversity of nations and tongues, unparalleled in history since the expeditions of Xerxes and Attila. A battle of three days (October 16, 18, 19) closed a scene of havock and destruction which humanity shudders to contemplate. While the three victorious sovereigns met in the great square of the city, the French emperor made his escape toward the Rhine with only a remnant of his army, and arrived at Paris within a week after he had seen the proud fabric of his greatness dashed to pieces on the spot where he had formerly triumphed. This flight was marked by the same disasters as had attended his retreat from Moscow; famine and pestilence aided the pursuers in sweeping off his miserable battalions by thousands.

This battle was of the utmost importance to Europe, from the political consequences which followed. It gave a new impulse to the military spirit of the continent. The powers and states of Germany rose almost simul-

taneously, and threw off the chains of the French ruler ; the confederation of the Rhine was abandoned, and the legitimate governments restored. William of Orange was recognised as sovereign prince of the Netherlands. Italy and the Illyrian provinces were emancipated ; and in the Spanish peninsula, where every step of the Duke of Wellington had been attended with victory, the dynasty of the Bourbons was re-established. The phantom of universal dominion which haunted the imagination of Napoleon, and had been almost realized, was thus dissolved, as it were, by the spell of a single defeat. The allied armies pursued the track of the fugitive emperor as far as Frankfort on the Rhine, determined not to sheath their swords until a general peace was confirmed, and France reduced to her natural position in the social system of Europe.

Some remnants of the gigantic edifice which had just been overthrown in the east and the west, still lingered among the fortresses of the north. Marshal St Cyr, whom Bonaparte had left at Dresden, was obliged to capitulate with 27,000 men, who became prisoners of war. The force employed before that capital being now at liberty to undertake other operations, the Prince-royal of Sweden, after despatching Baron Winzingerode to the Dutch frontier, marched against Davoust and the Danes, the former of whom was blocked up in Hamburg, while the latter had retreated into Sleswig. By this movement, the Hanoverian territory was rescued from the French, the regency of the electorate was re-established (Nov. 6), and Bernadotte, who had formerly ruled the inhabitants as an enemy's general, had the happiness to receive from all classes testimonies of their gratitude for the manner in which he had then exercised his command.

The war was now carried into the Danish territory ; and while the French marshal was pursued and defeated by General Woronzoff in a sanguinary action at Wandsbeck, the Danes were compelled to evacuate Lubeck (December 6) and retire to Rendsburg, after being routed in an obstinate engagement. Holstein was conquered, Sleswig overrun, and Tettenborn had

pushed on with his light troops to Kolding, the frontier town of Jutland, when a truce was agreed upon (December 15), with a view to try the effect of negotiation. But the government at Copenhagen having rejected the basis of pacification which was offered, hostilities were resumed.

The main obstacle to an amicable arrangement was the resolution of the allies respecting the separation of Norway ; and it is not surprising that Frederick VI., so long as there was the most distant prospect of success for his arms, should evince reluctance to accede to a treaty by which he would lose a kingdom, containing upwards of a million of inhabitants. His attachment to the French cause had begun to cool, and at an early period of the campaign he manifested an inclination to join the confederated powers ; but these symptoms of change appeared too late, and force was necessary to extort his assent to their proposals, even after opposition was become useless. Frederickstadt and Gluckstadt, which were exempted from the truce, had capitulated (Dec. 19, and January 5, 1814), and Rendsburg was closely invested, when at length the peace of Kiel was concluded (January 14) with Sweden and England, signed on the part of the former by Baron de Wetterstedt, and of the latter by Mr Thornton. Denmark entered immediately into the grand alliance against Bonaparte, and promised to furnish a contingent of 10,000 men, to be paid by monthly subsidies of £33,333 from Great Britain. The troops at Rendsburg were accordingly united to the army of North Germany.

By this treaty Frederick renounced for himself and his successors the possession of all Norway and its dependencies (Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Isles excepted), as far as the boundary of the Russian empire. All property and conquests, with the exception of Heligoland, were to be returned ; and the port of Stralsund opened as an entrepôt for colonial produce and manufactures brought from England. The King of Sweden assured to the Norwegians full possession of all their rights and immunities ; he likewise ceded to Denmark,

Pomerania, with the isle of Rugen ; and promised his intercession to obtain further indemnification. Part of these stipulations, however, were merely conditional, and required military interference to carry them into effect. Peace was soon after (Feb. 8) concluded with Russia at Hanover, and with Prussia at Paris (June 2) ; by which the political and commercial relations between Denmark and these states were re-established as they existed before the war.

To vindicate his policy in consenting to so great a sacrifice as the disintegration of the kingdom, his Danish majesty issued a manifesto, stating the causes that had driven him into an alliance with Napoleon, and accusing France of breaking her engagements by refusing to defray the expense of the numerous army which she had marched into the country, ostensibly for the protection of his dominions. The support of these troops cost several millions of rix-dollars, which had never been refunded ; and thus the resources of the government, already diminished by the naval war, and the prejudicial effects of the continental system, had become totally exhausted.

The annexation of the Hanse towns and contiguous provinces to the French empire, became also a most oppressive burden with regard to the commercial intercourse of Germany. The Prince of Eckmuhl, who was pledged by treaty to have 20,000 men in readiness to defend Sleswig, Holstein, and Jutland, had violated that stipulation by quitting these provinces and retreating to Hamburg, leaving the Danes to their fate, who were unable to withstand the superior force that was approaching their frontier. The irruption of the Swedes and Russians into the duchies, the loss of the towns and fortresses, and lastly, the desertion of an ally on whose assistance the utmost reliance had been placed, left Denmark no alternative but to surrender part of her territory to save the remainder, which was already half-conquered by the troops of the combined powers.

Having thus secured peace, annihilated the domination of foreign oppression in the North, and obtained a

solemn guarantee for the union of Norway, the crown-prince marched with his victorious legions to the Rhine ; observing the progress of the grand army, and keeping the Belgians in awe, while the allied sovereigns were vainly endeavouring to negotiate with Bonaparte for the permanent repose of Europe.

To expel the few garrisons of the enemy that lingered in some of the German fortresses, Bernadotte had left General Benningsen with 30,000 men, to form the siege of Hamburg. That unfortunate city was still exposed to the unrelenting severity of Davoust, one of whose precautionary measures was the appointment of a commission, with the power of condemning to death all persons accused of uttering inflammatory speeches to exasperate the soldiers or the inhabitants against his oppressive government. But the days of its sufferings were numbered, and the event was at hand which was to restore its independence, and its political rank in the federal system of the continent.

Although the bloody field of Leipsig may be regarded as the grave of Napoleon's military fortunes, he had not yet learned to profit by the lessons of adversity. On his return to Paris, he announced his intention to continue the war, and obtained from the senate (Nov. 18) a new conscription of 300,000 men, which completed the immense number of 1,260,000 human beings, all of whom, exclusive of the existing army, had been sacrificed to his wild schemes of universal empire. Rejecting the liberal offers tendered him by the allies in their declaration at Frankfort (Dec. 1), and soon after in the congress of Chatillon (Feb. 3, 1814), which guaranteed him a throne and a territory larger than France had ever possessed under the Bourbons, he left them no choice but that of again bringing the contest to the decision of the sword.

The confederates had crossed the Rhine in the months of December and January ; a series of battles carried them to the heights of Montmartre (March 30), when Paris capitulated, and next day the victorious monarchs entered the city which, for the first time, had heard the thunder of hostile artillery. With the capital, the king-

dom itself was conquered. The senate, lately the obsequious slaves of Napoleon, actually proposed his deposition, and appointed a provisional government to manage the national affairs until the arrival of the legitimate sovereign. The unconditional abdication of Bonaparte removed the only obstacle to the conclusion of a general peace; the exiled princes of the continent returned to their thrones, and preparations were immediately begun for reconstructing the subverted political system of Europe.

During these important achievements on the soil of France, a new storm arose in the North which threatened to obstruct the restoration of universal tranquillity, and to involve the Scandinavian nations in those calamities from which the other states had been so happily emancipated. The treaty of Kiel had guaranteed to Sweden the annexation of Norway; but this compact, however imperative or sincere on the part of Denmark, did not imply the consent of the ceded provinces. It cannot be denied that the arrangement was dictated by policy and the urgent pressure of circumstances, rather than by justice; but as the allied powers had deliberately involved themselves in the obligations of such a transfer, and derived important advantages from it, by obtaining the co-operation of the crown-prince in the re-establishment of their common liberties, strict faith required that political convenience should, in this instance, triumph over natural equity, and the remonstrances of an indignant people.

The Norwegians are passionately attached to their native mountains, and known to possess a lofty spirit of independence. Though they had long ceased to constitute a separate nation, and were the subjects of a monarch vested with power nearly absolute, they still retained constitutional privileges which, combined with their detached situation from the centre of government, had secured to them a considerable share of practical freedom. It was scarcely therefore to be expected, that they would quietly submit to be transferred from one master to another, without consulting their inclination;

and in virtue of a contract to which they were not parties. This repugnance was aggravated by feelings of national animosity which, cherished from the earliest ages, had grown into a sort of hereditary enmity towards the country with which they were henceforth to be politically united. The recent severity of Sweden had exasperated these ancient antipathies, by intercepting all supplies of provisions in a year of scarcity, in consequence of which 5000 persons are said to have perished in the diocese of Trondheim of famine and disease.

At this critical period, the governor of the kingdom was Prince Christian Frederick, duke of Holstein, and heir-presumptive to the crown of Denmark, who by his patriotic measures had won the confidence and affection of the inhabitants. When an officer from Stockholm arrived with the ratification of the treaty of Kiel, the prince found that the citizens of Christiania were not disposed to succumb to a foreign yoke. They earnestly implored him not to leave them, but to assume the sovereign authority with the title of regent, and assist them in maintaining their independence against the claims of Sweden. Emboldened by these assurances of loyalty to his person, he determined to oppose the union by force, and proceeded across the mountains to Trondheim. Every where he was hailed as a deliverer by the people, who flocked from the hills and valleys with their wives and children, exclaiming with affectionate enthusiasm, "We will conquer or die for old Norway's freedom!" Having so far arranged his plans, he returned to Christiania and took the oath as regent,—an event which was celebrated by the usual expressions of public rejoicing. The Danish flag was taken down (February 19), and the Norwegian colours hoisted in their place, amidst loud acclamations. A council of state was appointed, consisting of seventeen persons, and an address issued by the prince, calling upon the inhabitants to assert their independence, and promising to be their protector until the constitutional settlement of the crown should be fixed by the decision of a national assembly. Other circulars declared the kingdom to be at

peace and on terms of free intercourse with all nations, except that which should violate its sovereignty, or attack its frontiers.

During these proceedings Count Axel Rosen appeared at Christiania (February 24) as Swedish plenipotentiary, to put in execution the treaty of peace with Denmark. He was the bearer of a proclamation from Charles XIII. to the Norwegians, stating that he reserved to them all the essential privileges which constitute public liberty ; and engaged expressly to leave them the power of establishing a constitution suited to the wants of the country, and founded on the basis of national representation, and the right of taxing themselves. He also pledged himself not to mix the finances of the two countries,—to keep their respective debts entirely separate, and not to suffer the resources of Norway to be expended out of the kingdom. To this declaration Prince Frederick replied by appealing to the resolution, which he had published in the face of all Europe, never to submit to a forced cession. Count Rosen immediately returned, without farther urging the object of his mission.

The resistance of the natives had been stimulated partly by the misrepresentation of a number of Danes in that country, and partly by the fallacious hopes of support from England. To vindicate himself from any suspicion of having secretly fomented this rebellious spirit, the King of Denmark addressed a letter (April 13) to the magistrates and inhabitants of Norway, in which he avowed his determination to adhere to the stipulations of the treaty, as the only means of preventing the ruin of both countries ; and to acknowledge no other authority or government among them, save that of the King of Sweden. He expressed his regret and displeasure at the conduct of Prince Christian, in abusing his trust by assuming the sovereignty which belonged to another ; he forbade all officers nominated by him to accept or retain any employment under the regency ; and commanded the departure of those who were not natives, on pain of forfeiting their rights and privileges as Danish subjects.

To ascertain the views of England, and obtain if possible her assent to the new constitution, Mr Carsten Anker was deputed to London, and had a conference with Lord Liverpool, which put an end to the expectations that had been entertained of receiving any countenance from that quarter. The British ministry, as parties to the treaty of union, considered themselves bound in good faith and honour to see it carried into effect, even by the painful operation of hostile constraint. A notification was accordingly made (April 29), by command of the Prince Regent, to the foreign ambassadors in London, stating that coercive measures had been taken, by ordering an English expedition to blockade the ports of Norway.

In consequence of these warlike menaces, the Norwegians resolved to assume a more decisive attitude. Some, dreading the approaching conflict, were inclined to submit ; others preferred a republican form of government ; but the majority declared for an independent sovereignty, and concurred with the resolution of the diet of Eidsvold (April 10), which assigned the crown to the regent, with descent to his posterity. The legislative power, by the new constitution, was vested in an assembly consisting chiefly of landed proprietors. Christian-Frederick was proclaimed king (May 19) ; and on the same day the meeting of the states was dissolved in a speech from the throne. By this assumption of the regal title, the nation virtually stood pledged to resist by arms the compulsory transfer of their country ; and as it was deemed equivalent to an intimation of war against the allies, the envoys of the four great powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, repaired to Christiania with the view of attempting a pacific arrangement, based upon the conditions in the treaties of Kiel ; and announcing themselves as heralds rather than mediators, they peremptorily insisted upon the full submission of the Norwegians and their pretended king to a decree which they pronounced irrevocable. The prince was summoned to return within the line of his duties as a subject of the Danish crown, under pain of rebellion,

and at the peril of kindling an unequal war in the North, which would infallibly accomplish what persuasion had in vain attempted. A general blockade had already been ordered, and the army of Count Benningsen, as well as a corps of Prussian troops, were placed at the disposal of Sweden. At the same time, in respect of his high character, and to avoid the effusion of blood, they consented to offer such modifications as might afford him the honourable means of decending from his present unfortunate elevation. These modified terms, intended as the basis of an armistice, were: That he should resign into the hands of the diet all the rights he had received from them, and use his influence to obtain their consent to the union: That the country between the Glommen and the Swedish frontier, the isles of Hval-Oerne, and the fortresses of Frederickstadt, Frederickshall, Frederickstein, and Kongsvinger, should be evacuated by the Norwegian troops, and occupied by Swedes. On these conditions the blockade was to be raised with respect to the ports of Christiania, Christiansand, and Bergen, during the period of the truce.

The answer of Prince Christian (July 13) was considered by the envoys of the allied powers as an evasion of their terms. Not one of the three proposals received his unqualified acceptance; and it seemed obviously his determination to yield only to the law of force. This useless attempt at compromise was followed by a declaration of hostilities. The crown-prince, who had been extremely active in his military preparations, issued an address to the soldiers from Wenersborg (July 17), recapitulating the various efforts that had been made to avoid a collision. He pointed out the mutual advantages that the two kingdoms would derive from their union, —a measure which, he said, Nature herself appeared to indicate, and which had been projected by the great Gustavus. To the Norwegian people he represented the fruitlessness of opposition to the wishes of Europe, and conjured them not to provoke a contest alike detrimental to their own happiness, and to the reciprocal interests of the Scandinavian peninsula.

The patriotic spirit of the brave inhabitants, animated with lofty notions of their national independence, could neither be overawed by present danger, nor soothed into acquiescence by the hope of prospective advantages. The war commenced with a naval action (July 27), in which the Swedish admiral, Baron Pike, took possession of the Hval-Oerne islands, near Frederickstadt. Three days afterwards, the crown-prince, who had set out with the whole army for Norway, reached Stronstadt, where he fixed his head-quarters; a detachment of 20,000 men crossed the frontier, and occupied two advanced posts with very little resistance. In this expedition Charles XIII. took a personal share, having formerly been a naval commander; but the enterprise was too meagre of incidents to furnish occasion for great generalship.

The campaign was entirely confined to the banks of the Glommen, and produced merely a few skirmishes altogether uninteresting. Frederickstadt, which is reckoned the key of Christiania, capitulated (August 4), after an attack from the Swedish gun-boats and bomb-vessels; the garrison, about 1500 men, having submitted to his majesty's government, were permitted to return home. The capture of a few more of these frontier positions, and a victory gained by General Vegesac, brought the invading army to Frederickstein, the bombardment of which was commenced on the 12th; but that celebrated fortress was spared the necessity of surrendering, by the submission of Prince Christian at the moment when Bernadotte was making dispositions for surrounding him with a greatly superior force. Finding that resistance would be mere desperation, and incur a useless sacrifice of human life, he accepted an armistice, and agreed to resign the sovereignty. A convention was signed (August 14) at Moss, by which his Swedish majesty promised to sanction the constitution formed by the diet of Eidsvold, and to make no alterations but such as had their concurrence, and were indispensable to the friendly coalition of the two kingdoms. An amnesty was declared for all past expression of opinions, and orders given for raising the blockade of the Nor-

wegian ports. The treaty was ratified by the Danish and Swedish princes (August 16), when Christian immediately issued a proclamation to his late subjects, acquainting them with the various circumstances which had rendered his abdication necessary, and assuring them of his unchanged attachment to their welfare.

The Storthing, or assembly of the states, met in terms of the convention of Christiania (October 7), and received the resignation of the prince, whose health and spirits were much affected by the mortifications he had undergone. With a few adherents he set out for Laurvig, and refusing the accommodation of a British sloop of war, he preferred the conveyance of a Danish cutter, which landed him at Skanderborg in Jutland; and thus terminated his short-lived royalty, the assumption of which, whether dictated by patriotism or ambition, was an indication of temerity rather than political wisdom. Although it was evident he had not given up the cause of Norwegian independence until its maintenance was placed beyond all human probability, there was still the remnant of a party, which, in the disappointment of their eager hopes, regarded the termination of the contest as the result of perfidy. A commotion arose in the capital (October 14), during which the house of General Haxthausen, accused of having left the army for three days without provisions, was attacked and destroyed. The public tranquillity, however, was speedily restored, and the inhabitants generally acquiesced in the resolution of the Storthing (October 20), carried by a majority of 74 to 5 voices, which decreed the reunion of the two kingdoms under one monarchy, and with a representative constitution, subject to such alterations as might be deemed necessary for the welfare of the country.*

The election of Charles XIII. (Nov. 4) met with the entire unanimity of the national assembly; and in a few days the crown-prince, with his son Oscar, who had arrived at Christiania, repaired to the hall of the Storthing, where the whole members took the oath of fidelity, and

* Annual Register, an. 1814. Heeren, vol. ii. per. iii. p. 338.

received the pledge of his Swedish majesty to govern according to the national laws. A solemn *Te Deum* was performed in the cathedral church, accompanied with an eloquent sermon on the occasion, composed and delivered by the Bishop of Aggershuus. Count d'Essen was invested with the dignity of Rigs-stadtholder, or chancellor of the kingdom of Norway ; on the 26th the states were dissolved ; and thus was completed the great act of national reunion, in a manner which bore every outward mark of being free and acceptable.

By the fundamental law of Norway, consisting of 112 articles, drawn up amidst haste and excitement, and modelled after the Spanish constitution of 1812, the order of succession was adopted as established in Sweden in 1809, when Gustavus was excluded from the throne. The government was to be an hereditary constitutional monarchy, as in a distinct, independent, and indivisible kingdom, united under one crown with Sweden. The whole executive authority, and the ratification of the laws, within certain restrictions, are intrusted to the sovereign, who appoints his council of state, declares war, with some prescribed formalities, concludes alliances and treaties of peace and commerce ; but he has the power only to convoke and dissolve the Storthing on extraordinary occasions.

By this new order of things, the internal repose of the Scandinavian peninsula was secured. The act of uniting an unoffending people, against their inclination, with a power whom they regarded as their natural enemy, was indeed made the theme of bitter remonstrance in various countries ; but it was defended by others, as warranted by the law of nations, consistent with sound policy, and essential to the pacification of Europe ;—the cession of that kingdom being the express condition on which the allies had obtained the co-operation of a powerful auxiliary force, and the personal services of a prince of consummate military genius. Two nations long divided by mountains and mutual prejudices, although united by geographical position and identity of interests, were thus combined under one political system, without any

sacrifice of constitutional liberty or national independence. Sweden found in this annexation a recompense for her territorial losses, and a reward for her spirited exertions in the cause of European freedom ; whilst Norway, satisfied that her laws and religion, her civil and municipal privileges, were not to be violated, gradually relaxed in her dislike to an arrangement from which she has in no respect been a sufferer.

The restoration of Louis XVIII. and the peace of Paris, gave rise to a multitude of compacts between the different European states. Denmark concluded treaties of amnesty and commercial relationship with Russia (Feb. 8, 1814) at Hanover, and with Prussia at Berlin (Aug. 25), by which the former good understanding between these several contracting powers was re-established, and their mediation proffered to guarantee his Danish majesty a suitable indemnity in lieu of the territorial sacrifices he had made. For completing the conditions and regulations necessary to the reconstruction of the political system of the continent, a general congress had met at Vienna (Oct. 14), composed of plenipotentiaries from all the allied powers, both great and small. The constitution of Denmark remained unaltered ; and in compensation for Norway, she received Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen, which she exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenburg as far as the Elbe. Reckoned by its superficial contents, this was but a poor indemnification ; its chief value consisting in its internal resources, and the advantages of its local situation.

When the sovereign princes and free cities of Germany formed themselves at Vienna (June 8, 1815) into a general union, Frederick VI., as Duke of Holstein, was included in the confederation ; while Sweden, by surrendering to Prussia her part of Pomerania, separated herself entirely from the continental league, of which she had been a constituent member since the time of Gustavus Adolphus. Her relations with Norway were ratified by an act signed (July 31) between the two kingdoms, which left her in possession of 292,700 square miles of territory.

While the congress were thus occupied, and Europe in the enjoyment of apparent tranquillity, Bonaparte quitted the residence assigned him at Elba (March 1) with 1140 adventurers, and proceeded to Paris, which he entered within three weeks after his landing on the Gallic coast. The tocsin of war again resounded throughout Europe; a new alliance was formed, including all the princes of the Germanic confederation; an immense army took the field; and on the bloody plain of Waterloo (June 18) the memorable usurpation of a hundred days received a decisive overthrow. The star of Napoleon then set for ever; and in six years afterwards, the conqueror, whose name had filled the world, died in exile and captivity (May 5, 1821), on an island-rock in the solitary bosom of the ocean.*

The only two powers having representatives at Vienna that declined entering actively into this alliance against the common enemy, were Spain and Sweden, the former considering it incompatible with her dignity to appear except as a principal party; while the latter, although concurring in the objects of the confederacy, was too much occupied with the reduction of Norway to lend her aid in the second deliverance of France; and as she had taken no share in the campaign, her accession was not required to the treaties and conventions signed (November 20) between Louis XVIII. and the other allied powers, for adjusting their respective territorial and pecuniary indemnities. The acts of that congress, however, afterwards received her signature, as testimony of her acquiescence in the great principles which constitute the basis of the existing political system of Europe.

Next to the restoration of peace, and the suppression of revolutionary commotions abroad, the solicitude of the

* In our brief sketch of the French revolutionary wars, it has not been deemed necessary to specify authorities minutely. The histories and memoirs of these events by Beauchamp, Bourienne, Boutourlin, Dumas, Fain, Fouché, Hardenberg, Jomini, Labaume, Las Casas, Montgaillard, Montholon and Gourgaud, Ney, Odeleben, Rapp, Savary, Segur, St Cyr, Suchet, and a host of others, are more or less familiar to the English reader, who will accept this general reference as all that is essential for the present narrative.

respective governments was naturally turned towards the improvement of their own civil and financial affairs. Few of the belligerent states had reaped in the iron harvest of the war more honour and advantage than Sweden. By a skilful and steady course of policy, she not only raised herself from the lowest abyss of misfortune and peril, but succeeded in regaining, at the close of the long and doubtful strife which shook the continent, that influential rank among the nations of the North which, by a train of military disasters and the misgovernment of her warrior-kings, she appeared to have lost for ever. She had fought nobly for the liberation of Germany, and she emerged from the struggle with new laurels added to her ancient crown ; and with a guarantee for her future happiness, in that compactness and independence of territory which some of her greatest statesmen had often but vainly projected.

While mistress of the scattered duchies and insulated cities that extended along the shores of the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland, with a population of 4,000,000, it was necessary to defend these foreign possessions at a ruinous expense of money and troops, and against more powerful neighbours, with whose interests she was incessantly brought into collision. Since the battle of Pultowa she had never ceased to feel the difficulties and inconveniences of maintaining those remote conquests. The union of Norway, which led to the final surrender of her continental provinces, relieved her of these embarrassments, and changed entirely the local position of her dominions, by the erection of one great peninsular kingdom, including the two Scandinavian nations. Thus combined under a single monarchy, and absolved from all connexion with the states of Germany, Sweden is less exposed than formerly to the agitation of continental politics ; she may stand aloof or interfere, as suits her own views of dignity or obligation. Unfettered by incorporating with foreign confederacies, she is not liable to be disturbed by those internal jealousies which are unavoidable wherever there is a complicated mixture of public or private interests. "The outline of her king-

doms," as a writer already cited observes, "is no imaginary line drawn through a lake with its entanglement of islands, or meandering among streams or over mountains. The icy and northern oceans, the Baltic, the Sound, and the Cattegat, guard her boundaries; and alike preclude all idea of aggrandizement on her part, and destroy all thoughts of aggression on the part of others. On the side of Russia alone she has a land-frontier; but marked as it is by the course of rivers, and minutely set out in the act of demarcation of 1819, nothing but the most obstinate violation of the law of nations could possibly tempt either party to meditate its transgression."

Whether the separation of Norway was in reality a loss to Denmark may be doubted, because their reciprocal advantages were by no means equal. The former kingdom, from its vast superficial extent, its thin population, and scanty resources, could never protect itself against invasion, or maintain its independence. By the law of necessity, therefore, it was compelled to submit to the fate of all weak states, either to become the prey of a foreign conqueror, or throw itself into the arms of a stronger power. By its annexation to Sweden, it gained advantages which no other arrangement could have secured. Prejudices and animosities, no doubt, similar to those which so long divided England and Scotland, had subsisted through centuries of bloodshed between these two rival nations; but time and a conviction of their mutual interests have gradually abated these hereditary antipathies. The Norwegians, like the Scots, in possession of a free constitution, are sensible of the benefits which they derive from the union. They see that their present alliance is a destiny of nature as well as of necessity. The great physical boundaries of the two kingdoms clearly indicate the propriety of their combination; and although war and revolution had prescribed different limits, yet the geographical position of Scandinavia, as well as the similarity of manners, language, and religion among its inhabitants, all seem to point out the arrangement of its being governed by the same laws, and subject to one monarch.

The accession of Norway can hardly be regarded as

an equivalent for the surrender of Finland, which of all her losses Sweden felt most severely. In respect of population the balance was nearly equal, both countries containing about a million of inhabitants; but in point of fertility, and in the patriotic affection and elevated loyalty of the people, the sacrifice of that fine province was not compensated by the acquisition of a kingdom. Bound to the Swedish throne by the ties of ancient fraternity, it was with difficulty they were reconciled to their cruel separation, notwithstanding the indulgent treatment which they experienced from their new master. To Russia the possession of Finland, with its fortresses, harbours, and natural defences, was of the utmost importance; for upon it depends the security of her capital, which, without the protection of that frontier, would be incessantly exposed to hostile inroads. By its annexation to the Imperial dominions, all danger from that quarter is excluded, and a perpetual source of jealousy and collision thus completely removed. The czar Nicholas has constantly professed a warm friendship towards the reigning monarch of Sweden, and when his son, Prince Oscar in 1830 visited St Petersburg, he was received with every demonstration of the most affectionate regard.

The individual to whom Scandinavia chiefly owes its civil and political regeneration is his present majesty, who, from the moment he stepped on the quay at Helsingburg, has never ceased to labour for the improvement, and to identify himself with the feelings and institutions of his adopted land. The declining health of Charles XIII. had unfitted him for the active discharge of his duties; and in November 1817, being unable to attend personally at the opening of the diet, Prince Oscar, created Duke of Sudermania, was commissioned to read the royal speech. From this indisposition he never recovered; and on the 5th of February 1818, he expired, in the seventeenth year of his age. His successor immediately issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of both kingdoms, announcing his ascent to the throne, and pledging his royal assurance to govern according to the fundamental laws of the realm. He had visited

Norway in August 1815, accompanied by his son, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm; and again the same expressions of loyalty were manifested, on the event of his coronation in the cathedral of Trondheim. The title of Bernadotte as Charles XIV. was recognised by the other sovereigns of Europe;* and although attempts, ascribed to certain partisans of the exiled dynasty, were made (March 1817) to organize a conspiracy against his life, the plot had only the effect of calling forth from all classes of the people renewed sentiments of attachment to his person and family. In his reply to the loyal addresses of the krigsbefäl, and the burgesses of Stockholm, he vindicated himself from the charge of having caused the fate of the banished Wasa, or opened his way to the succession by force or intrigue. The manner of his election, and the great abilities with which he has filled the throne, have given to his Swedish majesty all the confidence and security of an hereditary sovereign. The opinion no longer prevails that once classed him with the ephemeral monarchs of Napoleon, and predicted the duration of his fortune to be equally evanescent. The glory and the advantages which he procured to Scandinavia by his sword, he has enhanced by his patronage of industry and the useful arts. Whatever happiness and prosperity the united kingdoms enjoy, is the fruit of his patriotic administration; and the highest encomium that can be paid to his government, is to contrast the miserable condition of the people and the country at the time of his arrival, with what it now is at the end of twenty-seven years.

* The style assumed by the Swedish kings of the name of Charles has given rise to some dispute among northern writers. The present computation is erroneous, and was introduced after the time of Joannes Magnus, who reckoned Charles Sverkersson as the VIIth instead of the 1st of that name. Adopting the fabulous genealogy of that historian, the third son of Gustavus Wasa instead of Charles III. took the title of IXth. In Norway his present majesty is undoubtedly Charles III. although styled XIVth in all public and official acts. The Norwegians express discontent at this circumstance; and it is evident that, in litigations where the crown is concerned, it might occasion some confusion, Laing's Resid. p. 198.

With Sweden the European powers continue on terms of friendly and confidential relationship, and all appearances seem to indicate that her constitution is to be permanent, and the reign of the new dynasty undisturbed.*

The general political arrangements established in the North at the conclusion of the great European war, have hitherto remained unshaken, either by internal convulsion or foreign aggression. The Scandinavian nations enjoy a degree of comfort and tranquillity unknown in any former period of their history. The sovereign, instead of being degraded to the rank of a hired functionary, as he was by the act of 1723, or vested with absolute power, as in the constitution of 1772, exercises his legitimate share of influence and prerogative. To him are intrusted the diplomatic relations with foreign states, and the supreme administration of justice throughout the kingdom. The diet meets at intervals of five years, and is composed of four orders, a majority of which expresses the sense of the assembly, except in any propositions for altering the fundamental laws, when entire unanimity is required : and on these occasions their proceedings are marked by a certain cautious delay ; for no such measure can be carried in the same diet in which it is proposed, but is reserved for deliberation at the succeeding meeting of the states-general. In these legislative discussions, the king has the right of exercising a negative voice, and of propounding such overtures as government may deem conducive to the good of the country. An experience of nearly thirty years has proved their constitution to be suited to the genius of the people, and eminently fitted

* It is said that three parties exist in Sweden at present ; one for Prince Oscar ; another for appointing a succession by *election* ; and a third for restoring the old *legitimate* line. No hostile demonstrations against the reigning family, however, have been made in any quarter ; nor is the present an age when the claims of legitimacy are likely to supersede those founded on the national choice. If Charles John has recently expressed a wish for the coronation of his son, it must be rather on account of his own advanced age, and to conciliate his Norwegian subjects, than from any apprehension of intrigue, at home or abroad, for the restoration of Prince Gustavus Wasa.

to secure the dignity of the crown, the due influence of the nobles, and the just liberties of the citizens.

The four orders, or chambers, which constitute the diet or senate of the nation, represent the nobility, the clergy, the mercantile, and the agricultural interests. The number of attendants varies considerably ; but it is considered by some native writers as generally too great for the effective or expeditious discharge of business. There are reckoned about 2400 noble families in the kingdom, and the chief of each of these is by right a member ; but it is seldom that more than 400 take any part in the deliberations of that assembly. The clerical order comprehends about 60 deputies, chosen by the ecclesiastics of each diocese, and including the twelve bishops, with the Primate of Upsala, who is always their president. The burgh representatives are elected by 85 cities and towns, of whom Stockholm returns 10, Gottenborg 3, Norrköping 2, and the rest 1. The peasantry have between 140 and 150 deputies, chosen by districts ; these, as well as the burghers, are required to possess a certain qualification in property, and they have each a president or speaker nominated by the king. During the session, the members of the last three orders receive a small pecuniary compensation, paid by their constituents, the amount of which is voluntary. In 1828, the expense of the diet was only 417 rix-dollars banco. The total number of deputies for that year was 718 ; of whom 492 were nobles, all except 17 holding commissions, civil or military ; 57 clergy ; 47 burghers ; and 122 yeomen. Of this number, not fewer than 554 were more or less dependent on the government,—a fact which shows that liberty is not altogether exempt from official influence under the constitution of Sweden.

The Norwegians, although their national history had been amalgamated with that of Denmark since the union of Calmar, continued to enjoy, even under the government of an absolute sovereign, those social arrangements and free institutions so well adapted to their condition, and so firmly secured by their ancient laws, that the transition from despotism to democracy was effected

without any revolution of property, and with no important change in the civil or religious establishments of the country. The rooted attachment of the natives to old habits and domestic usages was left unmolested, and so far as regarded personal rights, the mild and enlightened administration of the Danish monarchs had attempted no encroachments upon popular liberty, and created no public grievances that called for redress.

The character and forms of the Norwegian jurisprudence have undergone few modifications since the Middle Ages. The court of mutual agreement is the lowest; it is the preliminary stage in any lawsuit, and is held once a-month within every parish, by a commissioner elected by the resident householders, who receives a small fee of an ort (ninepence) on entering each case. Next is the court of the *sorenskriver*, or sworn writer, which sits quarterly, and has jurisdiction in matters criminal as well as civil. This judge, like the Scotch sheriff, receives his appointment from government; but he is not removable at pleasure. For legal purposes, the entire kingdom is divided into four provinces or stifts, eighteen amts, sixty-four *sorenskriveries*, and forty-four fogderies. The stifts-amt court consists of three judges, with assessors, who are stationary in the chief towns in each of the four grand divisions, and review the whole proceedings of the inferior tribunals. All cases, civil as well as criminal, may be carried by appeal to the final and highest court, the *Hoieste Ret*, which sits in Christiania, and forms one of the three estates of the constitution. One peculiarity in the jurisprudence of Norway is, that the judge is responsible for his decisions, and liable to damages if found to have decided wrong. The fogeds exercise the duties of police, and all executive public functions within their districts; they collect the taxes, take charge of the crown-property, and communicate with their immediate superior, the *amtman*, who again reports to the stifts-amtman.

The *Storthing* or parliament assembles triennially in the capital, and sits for three months (February, March, and April), or until business is despatched. It meets

of its own right, and not under any writ or proclamation from the king ; but the prolongation of the session beyond the regular time is a matter of royal prerogative, and its acts have no force until ratified by the subsequent assembly. The electors choose their representatives by districts, according to the number of qualified voters in each ; and these proportions are founded on the principle that the towns should as nearly as possible return one-third, and the country two-thirds of the whole body, which should not be under seventy, nor exceed one hundred members. From their education, their profession, and rank in life, it can hardly be expected that the storthing will contain men of enlightened views of legislation. Their appearance is that of respectable farmers ; and the talent displayed such as may be found at an ordinary county meeting in Scotland.

The house divides itself by choice into two separate chambers, the lagthing and the oldelsthing. The former consists of one-fourth of the entire members, who have their own president and secretary chosen by themselves, and constitutes the division in which the deliberative functions of the legislative body are invested ; but these are more limited than in the British House of Peers, as they can initiate no bill, but merely approve, amend, or reject measures sent from the other chamber. The storthing which was dissolved in 1836, being the eighth since the union, consisted of ninety-six members ; of whom twenty-two were in civil offices, three in military, sixteen in clerical, four lawyers, fourteen merchants, and thirty-seven landowners. Among the civil functionaries were included one rector of a school and a collector of taxes ; of the ecclesiastical, four were not clergymen, but parish clerks (kirke-sanger) or precentors. Each representative is allowed his travelling expenses, and a dollar and a half per day during his attendance. From the cheapness of provisions and accommodation, many of them return home with a little capital saved out of the profits of legislation.

Although the constitution of 1814 has been found to work tolerably well, yet this is owing less to the per-

fection of the machinery than the genius of the people. It is considered a defect, and practically a hinderance to business, that government has no means of returning even a single member to the storting, nor any official organ there to expound its views, or bring forward and support its propositions. All attempts to introduce court influence, or controlling checks upon their proceedings, have been repelled with peculiar jealousy, as infringements upon their national independence. The abolition of hereditary nobility, proposed in 1815, was carried in 1824 against the efforts of the king, who used every means to induce the assembly to abandon the measure. The royal assent had been repeatedly refused ; but the law passed, in virtue of the constitutional power which dispenses with that sanction to any act that has been approved by three successive storthings.

The same spirit of nationality has led them to resist every proposition tending to mingle the prerogatives of the crown with their legislature, or to encourage the amalgamation of the two kingdoms. This apprehension manifests itself on the most trifling occasions,—the colour of a regimental button, or the armorial quarterings of an official seal ; and in July 1836 the storting was suddenly dissolved amidst angry discussion, when the Norwegian minister of state, Count Lovenskiold, was impeached and fined because he had not remonstrated against the exercise of the royal prerogative, in terminating a session which had already been prolonged five months. It is probable, however, that these collisions will only be temporary ; and that no serious interruption will ensue to the friendly relationship between the two nations, either from unreasonable suspicions on the one side, or illegal encroachments on the other.

In Denmark the constitution of 1660, which, though it conferred unlimited power on the sovereign, had been so administered as not to enslave or oppress the people, was considerably modified in 1834, by the establishment of a representative form of government. This change appears to have been dictated more by the enlightened spirit of the times, than in consequence of any discon-

tent or inconvenience felt under the existing system. According to the new law, the kingdom is divided into four parts,—1. The islands ; 2. Jutland ; 3. Sleswig ; 4. Holstein ; each of which has its provincial assembly. In the first division, the legislative body consists of sixty-six members, of whom Copenhagen elects twelve ; the other towns eleven ; the landholders seventeen ; the peasants twenty ; and the rest are nominated by the king. Jutland returns fifty-five, Sleswig forty-four, and Holstein forty-eight deputies. The number of representatives for the entire kingdom is from 209 to 217, and each receives four rix-dollars a-day, besides travelling expenses. No minister of state or high official person is eligible. The communication between the sovereign and the assembly is through a royal commissioner, who has the privilege of speaking but not of voting. The granting of this constitution has added to the well-earned popularity of Frederick VI., who has long enjoyed the esteem and affection of his subjects.

The political and territorial changes which the Baltic kingdoms underwent at the restoration of the peace of Europe, have been hitherto productive of acknowledged advantages. Domestic peace and prosperity have brought a recompense for mutual losses, and healed the wounds inflicted by an unfortunate participation in the continental wars. The Scandinavian firmament is yet unclouded, and gives no indication of those unhappy commotions which have marked the recent progress of events in other parts of Europe. Russia has been suspected of a wish to possess Finmark and Norrland, for the extension of her trade in the districts around Archangel ; but whatever may be the designs of that power upon the territories of her northern neighbours, a more tempting field for her ambition is open, in the mean time, on the side of Turkey and at the extremity of the Black Sea. The formidable confederacy, however, that adjusted the internal arrangements of these states, is a guarantee that their integrity and independence shall be preserved, as established on the faith of treaties by the allied powers of Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

Manners, Institutions, and Commerce.

CHARACTER AND MANNERS.—General Character of the Scandinavian Nations—Habits and Manners of the Danes—The Swedes—The Norwegians—**RELIGION**—Established Church in Denmark—Norway—Sweden—**LITERATURE**—Progress of Learning in Denmark—Zeal for Scientific Discovery—Authors and their Productions—Universities—Libraries—Literature and Science in Sweden—Academies—Naturalists, Historians, Poets—Artists—Schools, Universities, Libraries—Education in Norway—Literary and Public Institutions—The Periodical Press—**ARTS AND MANUFACTURES**—Chief Branches of Industry in Denmark—Principal Fabrics in Sweden—Amount and Value of their Products—Domestic Occupations in Norway—**AGRICULTURE**—Farming and Farm Produce in Denmark—State of Swedish Agriculture—Division of the Soil—Recent Improvements—Exportation of Grain—Condition of the Farmers—Quality of Stock—Norwegian Husbandry—Effects of Climate and Soil—The Potato—Udal System—Annual Produce of the Kingdom—Distillation of Brandy—**CURRENCY, FINANCE AND METROLOGY**—Currency—Revenue—Taxation—Distribution of Wealth—**COMMERCE**—Trade of Denmark—Amount of Produce exported—Shipping—Sound Dues—Maritime Advantages of Sweden—Gradual Extension of Mercantile Enterprise—Value of Exports and Imports—Principal Channels of Foreign Traffic—Ports of Stockholm and Gottenborg—Commercial Prosperity of Norway—Amount of Shipping—Imports and Exports—Iron and Timber Trade—Effect of high Duties—The Fisheries—**NAVAL AND MILITARY RESOURCES**—Army and Marine of Denmark—Of Sweden and Norway—Population of the Three Kingdoms—Progress of internal Improvements.

SECTION I.—CHARACTER AND MANNERS.

IN their manners and customs, as well as in their language and personal appearance, the inhabitants of the three Baltic kingdoms still retain manifest traces of their

common origin. The influence of government and foreign intercourse have gradually modified, in various respects, the physical and social condition of the people ; but the similarity of their general character, as descended from one parent stock, has not been effaced. The modern Danes, as one of their own historians (Holberg) has remarked, are not the same ferocious and sanguinary race of warriors as their ancestors were, who considered it disgraceful to die except in battle, and made their greatest felicity consist in drinking hydromel out of the skulls of their enemies. That romantic temperament has disappeared ; the chivalrous conqueror of former times is now transformed into a peaceful citizen ; without much enterprise or ambition, but laborious, patient, and persevering. In disposition, the Danes are cheerful and frank with their own countrymen ; but reckoned somewhat cold and ceremonious towards strangers. In hospitality they are not deficient ; nor will they yield to any nation in attachment to their native soil.

The only distinct classes in the state are the nobles, the burgesses, and the peasantry. The clergy do not form a separate order. In the first class are comprised the ancient nobility, few of whom now exist, the greater part being of German extraction, or families ennobled since the Revolution of 1660 ; the chief officers of the crown ; and every royal functionary. The title of duke is rare in the history of this kingdom ; but there are counts and barons, who enjoy extensive privileges ; they cannot be arrested for debt, or tried, except before the supreme tribunal of the realm. Their estates and honours descend in the male line, and according to the law of primogeniture ; and a considerable portion of their land is exempt from taxation. Some of these peculiar rights, however, vary in different provinces. In Holstein and Lauenburg, where their ancient constitution has been guaranteed by the Germanic diet, the noblesse exercise supreme power in their own domains ; while the citizens of Altona, and the Frieslanders of the isles which lie on the western coast of Sleswig, enjoy a very ample liberty. The middle classes, the merchants, and inhabitants of the

larger towns engaged in trade and commerce, resemble the Dutch in their patient calculating habits ; but they are deficient in activity, and fond of parade in proportion to their expenditure.

The general character which travellers give of the Swedes, is that of a brave, hardy, generous, and enterprising people. It would be difficult to point out any nation more distinguished by a happy union of courage and steadiness, fine genius, and natural probity of disposition. The peasant, says Forsell, is slow in his movements, and requires long time for consideration ; but he generally determines soundly. He has a certain bluntness of manner, and a quick proud temper, which would rather endure "acts of manly violence than childish provocation." There is, however, a striking difference observable in the manners and appearance of the inhabitants in the northern provinces, as compared with those in the southern. In Scania, Gothland, and the circumjacent districts, light hair, the blue eyes and fair complexion, as described by Tacitus, still predominate. The men have faces somewhat pale, with a high forehead and long chin ; they are of a middle size, muscular frame, and mild aspect, indicating benevolence of heart, and a sentimental elevation of mind.

The Dalecarlians are a hardy, bold, and industrious race ; they have been always remarkable for their inextinguishable loyalty, and their name is celebrated in the historic page of Sweden. In consequence of their tried patriotism, and the many services they have rendered the government, they enjoy the flattering privilege of taking the king's hand whenever they meet him ; and it may be mentioned, as another compliment to their loyalty, that the nurse selected for Gustavus IV. was the wife of a Dalecarlian peasant, lineally descended from the heroine Barbara Stigsdotter, who saved the life of the great Wasa from the murderers sent in pursuit of him by Christian. It is perhaps the recollection of these exploits that makes the inhabitants of this province so vain of their superiority that, in their own opinion, no people on earth can compare with them.



Dalecarlian Peasants.

The dress of the Dalecarlians is peculiar ; the male costume is nearly what it was in the days of Gustavus Wasa, resembling that worn by English quakers. It is made wholly of woollen cloth, of a black or white colour, which creates a distinction recognised by the inhabitants themselves, and giving them the appearance of being sprung from a separate stock. The coat is wide in the sleeves, without collar or buttons, reaching to the knee, and fastened down the breast with hooks and eyes. A low broad-brimmed hat, a belt or cord tied round the waist, coarse grey stockings with red garters, huge clumsy shoes, having thick wooden soles and a leathern flap falling over the instep, complete the suit of this primitive race. The women coif themselves in a little white cap, close to the head and face. The rest of their attire consists of a short woollen jacket, petticoats of brown or blue flannel, an apron rudely embroidered, a

pair of bright scarlet stockings, and wooden shoes with high heels coming almost under the centre of the foot.

Among the higher ranks and the inhabitants of large towns, the state of manners, as in all other countries, differs considerably from that of the lower classes ; and in the Danish and Swedish capitals there is an affectation (perhaps in consequence of political connexion) of imitating the French style. Drunkenness seems to be the epidemic vice of the Scandinavian people. Brandy is resorted to on all occasions ; it qualifies the breakfast, acts as a whet to the appetite before dinner, and is not more indispensable at marriages and merry-makings than on Sundays after sermon. This unfortunate habit is the parent of many evils both physical and moral. Forsell remarks, that nothing has produced, not even their wars, so much mischief to the Swedish people as their addiction to drink. To it he ascribes more than three-fourths of all the crime, want, and misery, that prevail in the country. "Of late years (he adds) the conscriptions showed that, in various districts, nearly one-third of the youth were unfitted for taking any share in the defence of the kingdom." From the protocol of the diet in 1787, it appears the yearly consumption of brandy was 5,400,000 kanns (3,736,800 English gallons) when Finland was united to Sweden ; but forty-two years later (1829), when that province was annexed to Russia, it amounted to at least 22,000,000 kanns.

Notwithstanding this stigma on their national character, the Swedes possess many excellent and amiable qualities. They are polite, kind, and hospitable to strangers ; their honesty is proverbial, and contrasts strongly with the pilfering habits of the Russians. Highway robbery, as different travellers have asserted, is almost unknown. These virtues of course belong only to the rural population. In the metropolis and other large towns, vice and corruption prevail ; but these have been introduced by an admixture of foreigners, and where the inhabitants are not, strictly speaking, Swedes. Of the nobility and aristocracy, a few are said to possess considerable fortunes in property, which

may be valued at from £300,000 to £400,000 ; but the greater number have not the tenth or twelfth part of that amount. In 1831, there were reckoned in the whole kingdom about 2500 noble families, containing nearly 13,500 individuals, of whom 1500 resided in Stockholm, 3147 in the other cities, and the remainder upon their estates.

The Norwegians, in the general traits of their physical and moral character, resemble the portrait already given of the two neighbouring nations. They are a smaller race of men, but possess much spirit and fire in their manner. They are lively, frank, bold, and undaunted, but not insolent ; never fawning to their superiors, yet paying them due respect. The tallest and stoutest peasants are from Guldbrandsdal ; but they are less athletic and shorter in stature than the Swedes ; while from the Danes they differ in having hair of a deeper yellow or brown, copious eyebrows, countenances full of expression, and the ruddiness of health upon their cheeks. They excel in dancing, and are fond of that amusement.

The female costume is simple ; the common dress being a petticoat, and short jacket of home-spun stuff, bound with a sash round the waist, a coloured handkerchief on the head, with the ends flying out behind each ear. The men's apparel differs from the Swedish, and is often extremely grotesque ; the hat is frequently superseded by a jockey cap, or a red and blue woollen cowl, which might pass for Kilmarnock manufacture. The shoe-strings are replaced by enormous brass buckles, covering almost the whole upper part of the foot. The fashion varies considerably ; almost every district having its distinguishing costume. The natives of Tellemark use short breeches and knee-buckles, with girdles round their middle ; those of Guldbrandsdal are habited much as they were in the Middle Ages, with coats of ample dimensions and very primitive construction. The apparel of the ladies is equally antique, and gives them the appearance of grandmothers in the reign of Adolphus. Winter causes a change of raiment as a necessary defence against the excessive cold. The peasants then

wear close fur caps, flannel waistcoats, sheepskin or buckskin cloaks with the wool towards the body, thick yarn stockings, with boots doubly lined, and made of strong leather or rein-deer hide.

The national character is marked by distinct gradations. The Norwegian of the hills retains many traces of his ancestors, but in towns and villages he is quite a different being from what he was in the days of St Olaf, or Snorre Sturleson. In the virtues of hospitality, benevolence, and incorruptible integrity, he is unrivalled. All classes are remarkable for their politeness, and a strict observance of those homely courtesies and forms of salutation that generally distinguish a patriarchal state of society. In loyalty and patriotism they are surpassed by no nation in the world. The constant theme of their most popular songs and favourite airs is their native land. The hardy mountaineer would not exchange his bleak rocks and dark woods for the spicy valleys of the south. He loves every thing belonging to it, and almost worships its very name. To his ears the words *Gamle Norge* (Old Norway) have an indescribable charm,—a spell which is resistless. If they are pronounced in a company, or given as a toast, every voice repeats them ; glasses are filled, raised, and drained ; the party start to their feet ; and a burst of enthusiasm follows, which no circumstances have power to restrain. The Swiss “*Ranz des Vaches*” does not produce a more wonderful effect on the Alpine shepherd, than does this simple national allusion on the mind of a Norwegian.

In the tidiness of their persons and their domestic arrangements, the Norwegian peasantry excel the Swedish. The cottages and farm-houses display all the comforts and sometimes the elegances enjoyed by the same class in Great Britain. The walls are often garnished with bright pewter dishes, burnished kettles and sauce-pans, or fashionable articles of English earthenware. Among the rural and labouring population extreme poverty is little known ; and they fare better than their equals in Sweden. In some districts, the natives are not a little vain of being thought descended from the old kings

and nobles of the country; and in consequence of their high pedigree, they will not allow their children to marry into other provinces, or with families whose blood and birth are not equal to their own. If nobility consisted in antiquity of lineal descent, the Norwegians could produce many claimants, even among the humbler classes, to that illustrious distinction. In the remoter glens, where lands seldom change possessors, either by purchase or lease, there are said to be dwellers who can trace their lineage from the days of Harald Haarfager. Gerhard Schoening, an antiquary of great learning, mentions documents which he had seen, proving that an estate in Guldbrandsdal had been in possession of the same family since 1336; and that in the parish of Loom there was an individual who had preserved, among other ancestral relics, a writing of King Hakon VI., who had lodged in the house in the year 1364. A number of the old hereditary families of rank are recorded by Pontoppidan; but the law of 1824 abolished their high pretensions, and left no nobility or privileged class to boast of titles founded on ancient parchments and pedigrees.

Intoxication among the peasantry (though it is not confined to that class) is equally common in Norway, perhaps, as in the sister kingdoms. They all drink freely of corn or potato brandy, which is the indispensable beverage of young and old. Every landholder is entitled to distil the produce of his own farm; and pays a trifling duty for license if he buy and manufacture as a trader. The Norwegians are not disinclined to quarrel among themselves; but this is said to be the effect of natural courage, rather than of any artificial stimulant. Pontoppidan mentions with regret this infirmity of his countrymen, and states, that when heated over their cups, the combatants would hook themselves together by the belt, draw their knives, and fight it out to the last, until one or other was mortally wounded. So prevalent was this savage custom before the middle of the seventeenth century, that when families were invited to weddings, the wife generally took her husband's shroud with her, because battles were sure to happen, and seldom ended

without bloodshed. The Danish government strove to put down this irascible spirit, and modern disputants there, as in other countries, have exchanged their deadly weapons for the lawyer's pen.

SECTION II.—RELIGION AND CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.

The established religion in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, is the Lutheran ; and the form of church-government episcopal. The zeal for the reformed faith, with which the Northern governments were formerly animated, rendered them intolerant towards sectarians, and for centuries schism was unknown ; but more liberal principles have now found their way into those countries. Calvinists, Mennonites or Anabaptists, Quakers, and Jews, are allowed the free exercise of their respective modes of worship ; but Catholics and all other dissenters are excluded from the diet and higher offices of state in Sweden. Jews are only permitted to settle in three or four of the principal cities, and they are altogether prohibited in Norway. Denmark is less scrupulous, and does not require a profession of belief in the national creed as a test of eligibility to civil dignities and employments. Nearly the whole of the inhabitants, however, in all these countries, are episcopalian, and warmly attached to the established church. The Swedish peasantry are regular attendants on religious ordinances ; and as the parishes are sometimes very large, they travel 50 or even 100 miles to their stated place of worship. On these occasions they dress in their best and gaudiest attire, carrying in their hand a small Bible folded in a clean handkerchief. The better classes have little carts drawn by a single horse, which convey their families home, after taking their customary dram at the end of the service. The devotion of the Scandinavians, like their domestic habits, is characterized by strange inconsistencies. Travellers have observed, that the inhabitants throughout Norway and Sweden play at cards upon the Sabbath ; while balls, revels, and theatrical representations, are more frequent upon that day than

any other. In the wilder districts toward Lappmark, the church forms a sort of market-cross, where secular business is transacted ; especially among the fishermen of Lofoden, who rarely get a more favourable opportunity for meeting with customers. These edifices are generally plain buildings of stone or wood, with the belfry sometimes standing apart, painted of a red colour, with light iron crosses on the top. In the principal cities—Upsala, Trondheim, Christiansand, Roskilde, and Odensee—there are many ancient and beautiful cathedrals, which for elegance of architecture are not surpassed in any part of Europe.

Prior to the disjunction of Norway in 1814, the Danish Church, according to Catteau, consisted of 13 bishops, 227 arch-priests, and 2462 curates. The number of dioceses is now reduced to seven, exclusive of one in Iceland ; there is no archiepiscopal see, but the Bishop of Zealand is metropolitan. His income is estimated at about £1000 a-year ; the revenues of the other prelates vary from £400 to £600. In some parts of the kingdom, the patronage is in the gift of the crown ; in others, of the parishes or the owners of privileged lands. The chief funds of the clergy are derived from the produce of tithes ; but the parochial ministers receive part of their stipend in the form of certain offerings from the congregations at the three great annual feasts, or of dues for marriages, baptisms, and funerals. The bishops have no temporal power ; but they have authority over the inferior clergy to enforce moral propriety, obedience to ecclesiastical laws, and a faithful discharge of their pastoral duties.

The church establishment in Norway comprises, according to Thaarup, 5 bishops, 49 deans, and about 417 pastors of churches and chapels. The seats of the episcopal sees are Christiania, Christiansand, Bergen, Trondheim, and Norrland or Alstahoug ; the latter was erected about the beginning of the present century, and is only remarkable as being the most northerly bishopric in Europe. There are 336 prestegilds or parishes,

many of them of large extent, containing from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants, and requiring four or five separate churches or chapels. The incomes of the bishops may be reckoned about 4000 dollars (L.850), and of the rural clergy from 800 to 1600 (L.170 to L.340). The sources from which they are derived are, a small assessment of grain in lieu of tithe from each farm,—Easter and Christmas offerings,—and dues for marriages, christenings, and funerals, which are pretty high. There are *fiar*-prices as in Scotland, by which payments in grain may be converted into money. In every *prestegild* there are several farms, besides the glebe, which belong to the living, and are let for a share of the produce, or at a small yearly rent, and a fine at each renewal. One of these is appropriated to the minister's widow, as a kind of life-annuity. The Norwegian clergy are a well-informed body of men, possessing much influence over their flocks, conscientious in the discharge of their duties, and diligent in superintending the interests of education.

The Swedish church has a metropolitan, eleven bishops, and about 3500 ecclesiastics, who, with their families, comprise a population of nearly 18,000 individuals.* The episcopal revenues arise partly from tithes, but principally from church-lands. None of the prelates are wealthy, yet they enjoy a competent independence. The income of the Archbishop of Upsala is estimated at about £800 a-year; the richest see is Linköping, valued at £560, and the poorest that of Hernösand, which does not exceed £250. The salaries of the inferior clergy consist of their parsonages, tithes in grain, and certain perquisites from their congregations. They average generally from £70 to £100 per annum; but some of the livings in East Gothland and Sudermania are as high as £500 or £600. In Stockholm they have a grant of money from government, and the surplus of their stipend is made up of contributions levied by subscription from the citizens, which may produce altogether an income varying from

* The sees are Lund, Gottenborg, Wexjö, Calmar, Linköping, Skara, Carlstadt, Wisby, Upsala (seat of the archbishop and primate of the kingdom), Westeraas, Strängnäs, and Hernösand.

£250 to £400 ; although this latter mode of payment is reckoned degrading to the sacerdotal character.

Forsell states the gross income of the whole clergy at 3,669,800 rix-dollars banco (£305,816 : 13 : 4). Of this sum 1,816,600 (£151,383 : 6 : 8) are contributed by the state, and the remainder is collected from other sources. The means of religious instruction are very unequally distributed. Gothland, with a population of 39,000, has 93 parishes, which gives an average of about 400 persons to each. This superabundant provision is most remarkable in the districts where Roman Catholicism most prevailed,—such as Scania, West Gothland, and Jamtland. The same inequality is observed in the division and extent of parishes. In Orebro there is one with only 309 inhabitants ; Skelleftea has 9570 ; Gellivara has 1332 scattered over 6600 square miles, which is more than all Scania, Bleking, and Gothland united.

The dissenting places of worship are extremely few ; Swedenborgians being the only sect which the country has produced. The Jews, who were not admitted into Sweden until about fifty years ago, have now four synagogues, at Stockholm, Gottenborg, Norrköping, and Carlscrona ; and amount to a population of nearly 1100. The Catholics throughout the whole kingdom do not exceed 1800, the greater part of whom reside in the capital, and consist wholly of foreigners. The exercise of their religion was not authorized until 1781. Her present majesty and the princess-royal are of the Romish faith, and have a chapel where service is performed according to the rites of that creed.* The Scandinavian clergy have, as a body, been always distinguished for piety and morality. In former times, they were instrumental in preserving the feeble light of knowledge and civilisation from being quenched amidst the strife of intestine wars, and the ravages of contending factions.

SECTION III.—LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

In no part of Europe have learning and science been

* Forsell, Stat. pp. 55, 60. Daumont, Voyage en Suède, tome ii. ch. 26.

more zealously cultivated of late years, than in the kingdoms of the Baltic. The last half century forms a sort of Augustan age in the history of those warlike nations, who have produced a host of native writers in every department of human knowledge. It does not belong to our province, nor is it possible within our limits, to enter into a critical detail of authors or their productions. A short recapitulation will suffice to exhibit the progressive advancement that has recently been made in the wide field of northern literature.

The reign of Christian IV. was signalized by the encouragement of letters. Works were produced on Danish history, geography, and statistics, by Lyschander, Meursius, Pontanus, Ole Worm, and other authors already mentioned. The annals of Norway were illustrated by a complete edition of the *Heimskringla* (1633), from a translation of Peter Undal. Medical science owed some improvements to the labours of Caspar Bartholin and Ole Worm ; while several treatises on mathematics and astronomy were published by Longomontanus, who had been the pupil and assistant of Tycho Brahe. The origin of the drama, and the dawn of a new epoch in the language and poetry of Denmark, belong also to that period. Frederick III. was a patron of learned men ; he founded the museum and royal library at Copenhagen, expended large sums on scientific experiments, and honoured Torfæus with his private friendship. Christian V. was more addicted to war than intellectual pursuits. Physical inquiries however were prosecuted with considerable spirit; Borch and Borrichius were celebrated for their chemical discoveries ; Roemer was eminent as a mathematician ; and the Bartholins as anatomists. The first attempt to supply a grammar and dictionary of the vernacular tongue was made at this period by Peter Syv, a clergyman, and Privy-counsellor Moth. Peder Resen, professor of laws in the university of Copenhagen, and editor of the *Prose Edda*, published several codes of jurisprudence, and left behind him the *Altas Danicus* in manuscript.

The Revolution of 1660 had a depressing effect on the

national literature, and nearly a century passed away unmarked by any great intellectual enterprise. Divinity, law, and philosophy were wholly neglected; surgery was practised only by barbers; and when Frederick IV. and his queen required medical aid, no native physician could be found to whom it was deemed safe to trust the cure of the royal patients. Botany was cultivated to some extent; and a treatise on rural economy, entitled "A Good Farmer," was published by Paul Juul, governor of a district in Norway, which is said to have produced highly beneficial results. The only name after Tycho Brahe, of which astronomy can boast, is that of Peter Horrebow, and with him the cultivation of the science became extinct. Among the votaries of the muses were Anders Bording, Bishop Kingo, Reenberg, and Falster, who made several translations from English authors. But the chief poet of the age was Holberg, a native of Bergen, and originally trained to the profession of arms. By his ingenious and diversified productions, he raised himself to distinction and affluence. As a comic dramatist he is reckoned the Molière of the North. His history of Denmark claims a prominent merit, as being the first complete work in that department which had appeared in the vernacular language. This celebrated writer has been pronounced the founder of polite literature among his countrymen; "had he not existed (says Dr Baden), the Danes and Norwegians would have been a whole century behind in the attainment of knowledge." He died in 1754 at the age of seventy.

During the reign of Christian VI. all intellectual efforts beyond the range of science were subjected to rigorous control. The study of anatomy was much advanced by the "Osteology" of Simon Kruger. In the department of biography, Tyge Hofman produced a work entitled "Portraits of Illustrious Men;" and the historian Andrew Hojer became the founder of a new school of jurisprudence, which afterwards attained a high degree of perfection by the industry of his pupil, Kofod Anker, whose fame has not yet been eclipsed by

that of any native jurist. A Danish edition of the ancient laws of Norway was also published by Hans Paus, a provincial judge in Finmark.

The accession of Frederick V. imparted a new energy to the national literature ; and during this era some of the chief works in science and art were produced. Erik Pontoppidan, chaplain to the court (afterwards Bishop of Bergen), applied himself zealously to antiquarian researches. Hans Gram followed in the same track with equal industry ; but his labours were surpassed by those of his pupil, and successor in the custody of the public records, Jacob Langebek, who compiled the valuable and magnificent collection of the "*Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*." Two other names distinguished in Scandinavian archæology are those of Suhm and Schoening, who have earned the gratitude and admiration of their countrymen, for the light which they have thrown on the early annals of the North. The formation of a society for the advancement of polite learning, chartered in 1763, may be said to have completed that revolution in the national taste, which took place in every thing connected with the *Belles Lettres*, about the middle of the last century. Whilst the writings of Baden, Luxdorph, Sneedorff, Hoysgaard, Eilschov, Rothe, and others, tended to purify the language, geography received some important contributions from the work of Thorn, and the information imparted by men of learning who had travelled in foreign countries. In imitation of his father, who had sent Norden to explore Egypt, Frederick despatched a literary expedition to Arabia (1761), fitted out at the public expense, and consisting of five persons, one of whom only returned, the celebrated Niebuhr, who has given a very ample account of that journey.* A spontaneous enthusiasm led many others at that period to visit foreign regions for the purpose of enlarging the bounds of knowledge. In every kingdom of Europe, Danish naturalists, philosophers, scholars, and professors, were to be found prosecuting researches con-

* Some account of this Danish Expedition is given in the *History of Arabia*, vol. ii., ch. 9, *Edin. Cab. Lib.*, Vol. XIV.

nected with their favourite studies. Thorkelin resided some years in Britain, and his name has become associated with Scottish literature, from the circumstance of a collection of northern books, amounting to nearly 1200 volumes, being deposited in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh. The only conspicuous name in mathematics is that of Jens Kraft, who also wrote elementary treatises on logic and metaphysics. In the cultivation of natural science, Denmark had to share some part of her renown with foreigners. Oeder, a German, was the first editor of the *Flora Danica*, and appointed superintendent of the new botanic garden at Copenhagen. Count Moltke, a native of Mecklenburg, suggested the establishment of a royal cabinet of natural history and rural economy ; and to this class also belong three clergymen, Pontoppidan, Gunnerus, and Hans Strom, who contributed largely to this department of science, with which they had excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted while visiting their extensive parishes in Norway.

The feeble character of Christian VII. was not fitted to give an impulse to intellectual enterprise ; and political events tended still more to restrain freedom of discussion. The French Revolution, and the necessity of guarding against the propagation of its licentious doctrines, rendered it expedient to adopt precautionary measures in reference to the Danish press (Dec. 3, 1790) ; but these being found insufficient to check the progress of anarchical opinions, a second edict was issued in 1799, by which all anonymous writings were expressly forbidden, and the penalties of the law strictly enforced against offenders. Among other native authors who on this occasion incurred sentence of exile, were Heiberg, a dramatic poet, and Malte-Brun, the celebrated geographer. These prohibitive measures caused a temporary stagnation in literature ; but they kept Denmark free from the contagion of those revolutionary principles that proved so disastrous to other countries. Rahbek, Pram, Hennings, Abrahamson, Samsoe, and others, distinguished themselves by the boldness of their political discussions, especially in a monthly publication called the *Minerva*.

During the present century, the literary energies of the Danes have assumed an unprecedented degree of activity. Periodicals of every description, magazines, albums, annuals, and other ephemeral productions, abound. A few years ago, the number of these vehicles of popular instruction was reckoned at eighty, published either at Copenhagen or in the principal towns; seventy-two of them were in the vernacular tongue, the rest in German and Icelandic.

Poetry, in all countries the handmaid of taste and civilisation, has been cultivated and read with unexampled avidity. Among the recent votaries of the muse, we find the names of Thaarup, Gulberg, Grundvig, Baggesen, Winther, Foersom, and others of minor celebrity, whose writings, however well appreciated at home, have scarcely attracted the notice of foreigners. Of modern Danish poets that have shed lustre on the land of their birth, Oehlenschläger holds the first rank. Possessed not only of a bold imagination, but of great historical and philosophical knowledge, he has produced, within the last thirty years, a series of works, epic, dramatic, and lyrical, which have gained him a European reputation. Another Danish bard of high repute is Ingemann, whose earliest lyrical effusions appeared in 1811; these were followed by compositions of greater length, consisting chiefly of dramatic writings, formed on the model of Oehlenschläger.

On no subject has Danish talent been displayed to greater advantage than in illustrating the History and Antiquities of the North; and in this task the University of Copenhagen justly merits an honourable pre-eminence. Many of its living professors, and several who have died only within these few years, enjoy the highest reputation as men of science and learning. Thorlacius, who filled the chair of Eloquence until his death in 1829, is the author of a collection of erudite *Prolusions*, or *Academical tracts*, relating principally to criticism and ancient versification. The late Erasmus Rask, professor of Literary History, is distinguished for his numerous philological publications, and his stupendous

acquirements as a linguist, which perhaps have never been rivalled in any country in the world. During his residence among the Calmuck Tartars, and the more remote tribes of the East, he became familiar with many dialects scarcely known to the natives of Europe. His biographer, M. Petersen, mentions that he was conversant with fifty-five different languages,—a stock far surpassing the attainments of Dr Leyden or Sir William Jones. In the course of his peregrinations, he collected many Oriental manuscripts of great value, illustrative of Pali and Sanscrit literature. Among other works, he has published, since 1817, grammars of the Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Spanish, and Italian tongues; and in his *Etymologicon Danicum*, most of the roots of the Gothic dialects are traced through their intermediate sources to the old Persian Zend.

In the department of historical illustration, Rask had within the university many distinguished fellow-labourers. Professor Neyrup has signalized himself by his profound researches into Scandinavian archæology; Rafn has compiled *Icelandic Tales, and Lives of the Northern Heroes* (*Nordiske Kæmpehistorier*), collected from old mythic and romantic legends; while Molbech and Muller have published specimens of skaldic and lyric poetry. To the preceding names may be added those of Thorkelin and Finn Magnusen, whose combined exertions have enriched the literature of the North with explanatory editions of the eddas and sagas; of Professors Schouw, Heiberg, and David, with others of inferior repute, whose writings have attracted some notice. The labours of the Archæological Society, and the Arnamagnæen Fund, have added many valuable contributions to the national archives. Nor has the church failed to act a distinguished part in this intellectual arena. The late Dr Munter, metropolitan bishop of Zealand, has produced numerous works in German, Danish, and Latin, chiefly on Greek and Roman Antiquities, displaying vast erudition and great critical sagacity. If the fame of these writers has not yet attained a popular celebrity in other countries, it is because foreigners are

unacquainted with their language, and cannot appreciate their merits.*

Denmark is well provided with learned institutions, and there is perhaps more elementary education in that kingdom than in France or England. The university of Copenhagen, which has been enlarged and amply endowed by various monarchs, is constituted on the German model, with a rector and nearly forty professors, divided into four faculties,—divinity, law, medicine, and philosophy. Without experiencing any sweeping revolution, it has received many gradual improvements, suggested by the progress of science and the general advancement of civilisation. The number of students has been reckoned to average of late about 700. The library attached to it contains nearly 100,000 volumes, including the collection presented by Arne Magnusen, professor of history, who died in 1730; it has also been enriched with the philological treasures of Rask, and many rare works in Sanscrit and other eastern languages, procured by the celebrated botanist, Dr Nathan Wallich. The royal library possesses 400,000 volumes, and may therefore be esteemed one of the most considerable in Europe. It was instituted by Frederick III; and contains a valuable stock of MSS., an extensive accumulation of engravings, and some specimens of early typography, presented by Count Thott. The Clasen library, opened in 1796, consists of about 30,000 volumes, and is particularly rich in the departments of mathematics, physics, geology, economy, and polytechnics.

The other Danish university is that of Kiel, founded in 1665 by Christian Albert, duke of Holstein. The number of students in 1834 scarcely reached 300, of whom 17 were foreigners. It is but poorly endowed; and as many of the pupils are stipendiaries, who attend lectures gratuitously, the professors are ill paid. The library contains 60,000 volumes, and there are several private collections of pictures and antiquities. At So-

* Eichorn, Geschichte der Litteratur. Gottengen, 1812. Neyerup, Dictionary of Danish Authors. Feldborg's Denmark Delineated. Appendix.

roe there is a celebrated academy ; and two well-frequented gymnasia at Odensee and Altona. Each parish has two or three schools, the masters of which have a small salary, with a house and a few trifling perquisites. The Danish government has bestowed great care in providing the means of instruction for the lower classes. It is very rare to meet a peasant who cannot read, and very often his acquirements extend to some of the higher branches of education. In 1822 the system of Bell was introduced in the elementary public schools ; in the following year the number of seminaries which had adopted that method of instruction amounted to 244 ; in the beginning of 1829 they had increased to 2500 ; and in 1832, to 2733.

The fine arts, which hardly existed in Denmark half a century ago, are now cultivated with enthusiasm. The late Professor Juel was an eminent portrait-painter, and esteemed the Sir Joshua Reynolds of Denmark. His successor, Eckersberg, is no less celebrated. Lorenzen has illustrated the dramas of Holberg ; Moeller, and Dahl (a Norwegian by birth), excel in landscape, Horneman in miniature, and Fritzsche as a flower-painter. The works of Gebauer, Hoyer, Abeln, and Lund, also rank high in the department of animal and historical painting. In sculpture, the names of Wiedewelt, and his pupil Thorvaldsen, are enough to immortalize the artistical renown of Denmark.*

The Swedes, until the middle of the last century, were better known in Europe as warriors than as scholars or philosophers. Before that period their authors wrote in Latin, and none but men of classical education could appreciate their labours. Their national literature resembles the Danish in the obscurity of its past history ; it was long scarcely known beyond the dominions of its own language, and with the exception of a few distinguished names, strangers were unconscious that genius or learning existed in Sweden. Modern times have not completely dispelled this ignorance, but much has been done to elucidate the rapid progress which the country

* Denmark Delineated. Introduction.

has made of late in the career of intellectual improvement.

Upsala was long unrivalled in the North as a school of natural science. The number of learned publications which it has given to the world sufficiently vouches for the diligence and erudition of its professors. Before Linnæus was appointed to the botanical chair in 1742, Celsius and Rudbeck had shed the lustre of their fame on that institution. The impulse given to literature by their writings and example has been kept up to the present day by a succession of distinguished philosophers. The pupils of the illustrious botanist caught a spirit of zeal and enterprise from their master, which carried them in pursuit of knowledge to the most distant regions of the globe. Hasselquist journeyed to Egypt and Palestine; Forskal to Arabia; Kalm to North America; Ternstroem and Osbeck to China; Thunberg to Batavia and Japan; Sparrman to the South Seas; and Dr Solander round the world. Wallerius, Cronstedt, Bergman, Engestrom, and Retz, analyzed the mineralogical wealth of their native mountains; extending their experiments and researches to various kindred subjects. Scheele, from an obscure apothecary, became one of the ablest chemists of the age in which he lived. Gejer, Garnej, Gahn, and Broling, wrote on lead mines and iron foundries. Melanderhielm, Vargentin, Prosperin, Nicander, Planman, Schulten, and Swamberg (a native of Tornea), have signalized themselves as astronomers; Schulzenhielm and Liliencrantz are reputed by their countrymen good financiers; Hermelin and Odman improved geography by constructing maps, and editing voyages and travels; the latter, a clergyman and professor at Upsala, is a universal scholar, and accounted a good naturalist as well as an excellent philologist. Swartz, Afzelius, Quenzel and Acharius, are celebrated as botanists. De Geer produced a voluminous work on insects. Norberg has improved the steam-engine, and given other proofs of mechanical invention. Nordvall is esteemed a first-rate engineer; it was under his direction that the famous canal at Trolhætta

was completed. Hielm, Ekel, and Gadolin, devoted their talents to chemistry. Nordmark and Klingenstierna excelled as mathematicians; Ihre as a linguist and antiquary. Among the older historians, Dalin and Lagrebring were reckoned the best, but their works are superseded by more recent authorities. Olaf Celsius was the biographer of Gustavus Wasa and his son Erik XIV., and Puffendorff relates the wars of Adolphus.

Many valuable works in this department proceeded from the Academy of Belles Lettres at Stockholm, founded in 1753 by Queen Ulrica Eleanora, and renovated in 1786 by the liberal patronage of Gustavus III. who supplied funds for annual prizes and pensions to several of its members. The object of the institution was to elucidate the national annals; and on the roll of its historical contributors appear the names of Bolin, Schoenberg, Liden, Murrberg, Hallenberg, historiographer of the kingdom, and Nordin, who wrote the *Lives of Illustrious Swedes*. The establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts (1739), which had Linnæus for its first president and chief ornament, did much to encourage physical science, although its transactions may now be considered as superseded by later discoveries.

The Academy of Eighteen, also founded by Gustavus III. (1788), has produced several distinguished literary characters. Councillor Leopold, from the versatility of his genius, has been designated the Scandinavian Voltaire. Edelkrantz, Silverstolpe, Liliestrale, Lidner, Torild Ingelgren, Ehrensvar, and Elgstroem acquired celebrity as poets, and figured in the ephemeral quarrels of contemporary authorship. Klenger led the way to a better taste in dramatic compositions. Ling, director of the Gymnastic Academy at Upsala, and Beskov, chamberlain to the king, have produced a series of historical plays; besides several epic and minor poems which have been received with great approbation. Atterbom is frequently styled the Goethe, and Madame Aspin the Mrs Hemans of the North. Among the votaries of the muses not undeserving of being mentioned, are Vallin, bishop of Stockholm, Count Adlerspar, Coun-

cillors Kullberg, Adlerspeth, and Vallmark, Professors Franzen, Hierta, Hammerskiold, Vallstrom, Nicander, Sioberg, Brinkman, Madame Sengren, and a long catalogue of other names ; which prove that Sweden is by no means deficient in literary emulation. One of the most remarkable examples of her native genius was Belmann, the Scandinavian Anacreon, a self-taught bard, who died in 1806. His songs, set to music of his own composing, can scarcely bear translation ; the allusions, like those of Burns, being local, and the scenes generally laid in humble life ; but they are universally admired by his countrymen for their spirit and originality.

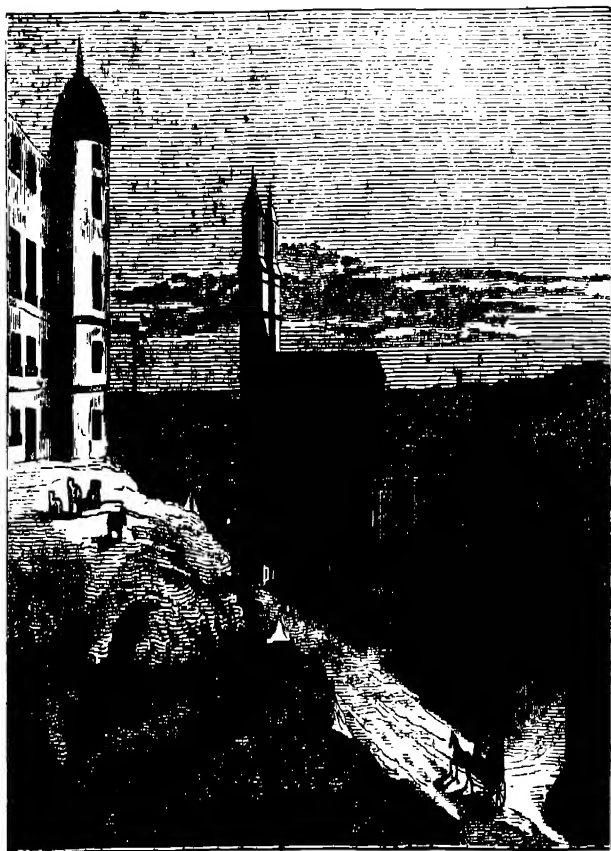
Of modern authors who have published sagas and other specimens of Swedish minstrelsy, the most distinguished are Professor Gejer of Upsala, Palin, Liliegren, Ræf, Afzelius, and Tegner, bishop of Wexio. Under their auspices, voluminous collections of poetical tales, odes, and national songs (many of them original), have appeared, accompanied by appropriate airs and critical dissertations. Nor is it on mythology alone that they have employed their talents. Gejer and Schroder are editors of the "*Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum Medii Ævi*," and have produced historical works illustrative of the old Scandinavian chronicles ; to which latter department Lindfors and Liliegren have also contributed. Tegner is esteemed one of the first of Swedish poets ; his romance of *Axele*, and his legend of *Frithiof*, translated into German and English, have rendered his name familiar in both countries. His war-songs are said to be models of heroic composition, and breathe the genuine spirit of the martial ages.

Natural science boasts of many late or living ornaments in the academies of Stockholm, Lund, and Upsala. Berzelius and Swartz are eminent as chemists ; Cronstedt and Svenberg as mathematicians and astronomers ; Graberg and Forsell in statistics ; Retz as an anatomist ; Vahlenberg as a botanist ; and Trolle Vachtmeister as a mineralogist ; Nilsson, Dallman, Agardh, Vickstrom, Fries, Gyllenhal, and Billberg, have distinguished themselves by their works on botany, geology, and zoology ; Collin

and Schlytern have been charged with the publication of a collection of the ancient Swedish laws, printed at the expense of the government.

The fine arts have long been cultivated with success. The academy of painting and sculpture at Stockholm, which Gustavus III. enlarged and remodelled, has contributed, by its annual exhibitions and prizes, to stimulate the national taste for these elegant pursuits. Among its most distinguished members was the celebrated Ser-gell, esteemed one of the first-rate sculptors in Europe at the close of last century. The number of eminent painters connected with that institution is very considerable. Breda, Lafrensen, Martin, Belanger, Deprez, Vestmuller, Gillberg, De Geer, and Skioldebrand, have produced works of no small merit. Among several artists of distinction that deserve notice are Vestin, Lindbrog, and Fahlcrantz ; the former an historical, and the two latter landscape painters. Goethe, Bystroem, and Fogelberg, excel as sculptors ; the last has executed an admirable statue of Odin ; and the first an exceedingly correct one of his present majesty Charles XIV.

No country in the world is better provided with elementary seminaries, and other means of instruction, than Sweden. Great pains have been taken for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge among all classes of society. Every parish has its school, in which the common rudiments of education are taught. There is scarcely a single individual who cannot read, and extremely few unacquainted with writing and accounts. The gymnasia are institutions upon a larger scale. Most of the provinces have one, which serves as an intermediate step to the universities. They are under the care and inspection of the bishops of the respective dioceses in which they are established ; and besides the higher branches of Greek and Roman literature, their course often embraces the oriental tongues, and the leading doctrines of theology. In 1832, the gymnasia, according to Forsell, were attended by 694 pupils ; the burgh schools by 1443 ; the classical by 2934 ; and the ele-



View of Upsala.

mentary by 4340. There were 837 charity-schools, where 7255 poor children were instructed.

Upsala, the oldest of the Swedish academies, and long the most distinguished seat of northern learning, owed its origin to Sten Sture in 1476 ; although a seminary of education had been established there by Birger Jarl two centuries earlier. It was enlarged by Gustavus Wasa, and enriched by the great Adolphus with a gift of his patrimonial estate, besides a valuable collection of books, the precious spoils of the different countries he had overrun with his victorious armies. About a hundred years ago, its venerable halls were crowded by above 2000 students ; but from circumstances already adverted to, their numbers suffered considerable diminution, and about the close of the last century they did not much exceed 500. They are again, however, rapidly increasing ; and in 1830 they were reckoned at 1453, of whom 153 belonged to the nobility, 334 to the clergy ; 212 to the order of peasants and operatives ; and 754 to the mercantile and wealthier classes. Of these 336 studied theology, 325 law, 86 medicine, 365 philosophy, and 341 were without any fixed profession ; 61 were above 30 years of age, and 392 below 20.* The benefits of a liberal education are not confined to the sons of the nobility and wealthy burgesses alone ; they are enjoyed by the children of mechanics and peasants, many of whom, as in Scotland, rise to eminence in one or other of the learned professions. Bursaries, and other funds, are established for assisting poor orphans in their expenses ; but there is no accommodation within the walls of the college ; the pupils being obliged to lodge in the towns, as is the custom at Edinburgh and Glasgow. The professorships are in the gift of the king, with salaries of £70 or £100 a-year, which leaves the principal support of the teachers to be derived from fees. The chancellor is always a person of the first rank and consequence, and generally a member of the royal family. There are about sixty professors (including their

* Forsell, p. 303.

assistants), who are constituted into separate faculties. Riding, drawing, music, fencing, and dancing, are admitted into the number of the liberal arts, and have each their appropriate masters. At this seminary the present crown-prince received his education, and resided, while there, in the palace of the archbishop. The buildings are the finest in the city, and contain a library of 60,000 volumes, besides a valuable collection of sagas and other manuscripts, the most celebrated of which is the "*Codex Argenteus*," containing the four gospels in silver letters,—curious from its great antiquity, and supposed to be a copy of the Gothic translation made by Ulfilas, the apostle of the Goths, in the fourth century. The house, garden, and monument of Linnæus, are still shown to travellers. The most singular deposit here are two sealed chests left by Gustavus III., supposed to contain his correspondence and papers relative to the transactions in which he was engaged. But by the will of the donor, they are not to be opened until fifty years shall have elapsed from the time of his death.

The university of Lund, established in 1666, has about fifty professors, including adjuncts and assistants, constituting five classes or faculties: theology, jurisprudence, medicine, philosophy, and what are called the elegant arts. The number of attendants in 1830 was 632; of whom 26 were sons of noblemen, 165 belonged to the clergy, 143 to the peasantry, and 272 to the other classes; 141 studied theology; 105, law; 56, medicine; 169, philosophy; and 161, undefined. There are two terms in the year, and the course of education is said to equal that in any British or German seminary. The library contains above 20,000 volumes; and there is a botanical garden, but of no great celebrity.

Stockholm, though not the seat of a university, abounds with learned institutions, some of which have already been mentioned. There is a Royal College of Medicine, to which are attached a library, an anatomical theatre, and a lying-in hospital; while mineralogy, veterinary surgery, and political economy, are each provided with establishments. The Royal Library, which is open

to the public, contains 40,000 volumes, besides some ancient manuscripts and typographical rarities ; amongst which is the identical copy of the Vulgate Bible that belonged to Luther, with notes in his own handwriting. It was found by the soldiers of Gustavus at the capture of Wittemberg. Besides these literary institutions, Sweden has twelve provincial colleges, one in each episcopal city, to some of which excellent libraries are attached.

The jealousy of the Danish government long resisted every attempt to obtain a university for Norway ; nor would they even allow libraries to be purchased for the benefit of the natives in their own country. It was their policy to compel all the young students to resort to Copenhagen ; and to these restrictions may be ascribed the general deficiency of the middle classes in literary attainments, which scarcely extended beyond a knowledge of their own minstrelsy, and a slight acquaintance with Danish authors.

Considerable progress, however, has been made of late in promoting a more enlightened system of education. A university was established at Christiania in 1811, intended for the whole kingdom ; the number of students in 1832 was 500, and 15 professors, whose salaries are paid in grain. The *storting* holds its annual sittings in the hall of this establishment ; to which are also attached an extensive library, a philological seminary, a botanic garden, a cabinet of medals, a museum, an observatory, and a rich collection of minerals, including the instruments and specimens that belonged to the Royal Academy at Kongsberg, founded for instructing the children of miners in those branches of science connected with their operations, and which, before its removal to the capital, was superintended by the distinguished Professor Esmark, well known in Europe for his mineralogical discoveries and the learned works he has published. The other public institutions are a military academy, a school for commerce, another for drawing ; various literary and philanthropic societies, a theatre, an exchange, a foundling-hospital, and a house of correction. Similar establishments exist at Bergen and Trondheim ;

savings-banks are found in almost every province ; and schools on the Bell system have been spread to the remotest districts of the Scandinavian peninsula.

The press in Sweden was long subjected to strict censorship. Gustavus III. prohibited the journals from making the slightest allusion to the French revolution ; and in the reign of his son there were only two in the whole kingdom. The expense of establishing a newspaper is trifling ; and in consequence the number of these periodicals is very great. There is one in every considerable town ;—in Gottenborg, Upsala, and Stockholm, there are several ; but, with the exception of ten or twelve, they are conducted with a mediocrity of talent that gives them no title to rank as literary productions. The art of typography in Sweden is yet in its infancy. There is not in the whole country a single press worked by steam ; and the number of printing establishments is only twenty-eight, of which ten are in the metropolis.

In Norway there were in 1836 upwards of twenty newspapers, of which six or seven were published in Christiania. The price of a daily journal sent by post is seven dollars, or about 28s. yearly. There is no duty either on stamps or advertisements ; and the most entire freedom of discussion is secured by the law of the constitution. For treason, blasphemy, or libel, the offender is amenable to public justice. The only interference with the liberty of the political press, is the allowing those which are reckoned friendly to the views of government to be sent free of postage ; whilst others, which have not the royal permission, must pay that tax. In the last storting it was proposed that all periodical publications should be granted a free circulation through the post-office, and the measure was only negatived by a small majority. Literature is but young in Norway, and of a subordinate kind compared with the standard works in other countries ; but the great increase of cheap magazines, and similar vehicles of general knowledge, gives a favourable testimony to the advance of intellectual taste in that kingdom.

SECTION IV.—ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

The state of manufactures and the domestic arts has not reached a high degree of perfection in the North ; although considerable improvement has been made within the last half century. The Danish government has afforded great encouragement to every branch of industry ; but in no department can its subjects compete, even in their own markets, with foreign rivals. The peasants employ themselves in working up their flax and wool into coarse cloths. At Copenhagen there are factories for silk and cotton weaving, constructed on similar principles with those in England ; Randers and Odensee are famous for their tanneries and gloves ; Tonder for its lace ; Frederickswark, Elsineur, and Holbek, for manufacturing large and small arms. Lauenburg contains soap-works, breweries, and potteries for common Dutch ware ; Altona carries on different manufactures ; Oldeslohe, on the river Trave, is distinguished for its baths and salt-pans. In the district of Preetz, eastward of Kiel, the natives are skilled in spinning, weaving, and platting of straw. Flensburg, a handsome and flourishing town, besides manufactories of soap and tobacco, has a considerable number of oil-mills and sugar refineries ; beyond the walls, there is a brass-foundry and extensive tile-works.

Sweden has made gradual advances, during the present century, in the arts that minister to the necessities and comforts of life, but she is yet far behind if meted by the standard of other nations. For several years, government has made the most laudable exertions to encourage the manufacture of steel, cloth, glass, and china, but the produce has never been adequate to supply the consumption of the country. The workmanship is generally inferior, and from the absence of competition the prices are often high. Industry has there to contend with many obstacles that tend to prevent the full development of native ingenuity. The territory is poor, and cannot afford the raw material ; while the wants of the rural inhabitants, among whom luxury has hardly yet penetrated, are limited to their own

simple enjoyments, beyond which their wishes rarely expand. The principal fabrics are nearly the same as those enumerated in the neighbouring kingdom. Stockholm enjoys some celebrity in the manufacture of watches, cutlery, mathematical and philosophical instruments ; Falun excels in rope-making ; Elfvedal, in the prefecture of Stora-Kopperberg, is famed for its beautiful vases, and other ornamental articles in porphyry ; Norrköping for its broad cloths ; Christiania for its paper-mills ; Wisby for its marble-works ; and Gottenborg for its extensive operations in sugar-refining.

Notwithstanding the various impediments to industrial activity, the number of hands employed in manufactures has doubled within the last sixty years. In 1771 there were only 8576 operatives in the kingdom ; in 1825 they had risen to 9283 ; in 1830 to 11,887 ; and in 1831 to 12,143, exclusive of those occupied in the mines. During the same period the manufactories have increased from 835 to 1884. The most important and productive branch of operative employment is the cloth-manufacture, which in 1831 consumed 1,420,000 pounds of wool, occupied 2835 hands, and yielded a return worth 2,794,458 rix-dollars. In this species of fabric Stockholm cannot rival Norrköping, which engrosses four-fifths of the trade. Sugar-refining is the next and perhaps the most flourishing branch of Swedish industry : in 1831 it employed 294 workmen, and used 7,778,000 lbs. of sugar and syrup ; while the value of its importation had risen from 1,314,000 rix-dollars in 1824, to 1,813,000.

The preparation of tobacco, which is cultivated in all the southern and midland provinces of the kingdom, gives employment to 77 manufactories, and nearly 700 operatives, the produce of whose labours is reckoned at 817,000 rix-dollars. Cotton and linen stuffs, notwithstanding the distribution of premiums by the government to encourage the growth of flax, have not risen to the same commercial importance in Sweden as in the other European countries ; the total number of hands devoted to these fabrics is 658, and the value of their products 269,706 rix-dollars. Silk manufactures have

been greatly improved by the introduction of French artisans ; there are forty-one establishments for spinning and weaving, which occupy 735 workmen, and yield a produce to the amount of 569,654 rix-dollars. There are only two manufactories for porcelain, the one at Rærstrand, the other at Gustafsberg, whose united produce does not exceed 161,243 rix-dollars. The number of paper-mills is 90, which employ 1338 individuals, the value of whose labours is estimated at 517,215 rix-dollars. Leather, and canvass for sails and military tents are manufactured after the English fashion ; articles of hardware in steel are executed at the small town of Eskilstuna in Nyköping, with an elegance and perfection not surpassed in Sheffield or Birmingham. The introduction of English machinery, for the spinning of wool and cotton, may probably be attended with beneficial results, but the experiment is too recent to afford materials for judging of its ultimate effects. The gross amount of the value of all the manufactures in the kingdom in 1824 according to Forsell was 7,281,182 rix-dollars banco (£606,765, 3s. 4d.) ; and in 1831 it had risen to 9,699,456 (or £808,288).*

The Norwegians may be considered an industrious people ; but from the poverty and limited resources of the country, their genius is compelled to operate within a narrow sphere, and can rarely avail itself of extensive improvements. Their principal occupation undoubtedly is the fisheries, which employ thousands of families, and supply immense quantities for annual exportation. Bergen has a manufactory for earthenware, and another for sugar-refining. At Stordalsholm, near Trondheim, there is a pottery, connected with which are tile and lime works. Laurvig is remarkable for its foundries, and most of the seaports give employment to artisans in their forges and dock-yards. The inhabitants of the inland provinces, who seldom frequent towns, display wonderful ingenuity in many of the handicraft arts. In general they are their own weavers, tailors, shoe-

* Forsell, p. 159 et seq. Daumont, Voyage, tome i. ch. 26.

institutions. It rarely happens that a single family possesses an entire division ; more frequently it is parcelled out among a great many, in lots scarcely sufficient to accommodate the increasing number of children, to exercise one plough, or pasture a few cows and sheep. In Dalecarlia, this process of dismemberment is carried so far, that properties are broken down into fractional parts of acres and roods, not worth two or three rix-dollars,—a state of things hostile to all improvement, and the source of much poverty and distress to the country.* In consequence, the produce of their scanty harvests was long insufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants, who were compelled to purchase foreign grain to a considerable extent ; and even, in the northern districts, to grind the bark of the fir to eke out the stinted supply of their natural food. Every year it became necessary to import from Dantzic or Holland to the extent of £300,000 or £400,000 sterling. The commercial scale in this respect has of late completely turned in favour of Sweden. Numerous societies have been instituted for the encouragement of agricultural enterprise. Government has zealously seconded the exertions of private individuals ; and the king has set a personal example to his subjects, in purchasing experimental farms (particularly that of Engetlofta, near Helsingborg), that he might exhibit the development of the art upon the most approved principles. The nobility, by their fortunate preference of rural pursuits, have also contributed powerfully to the diffusion of the same

* The conditions to be observed in the subdivisions of farms and properties are prescribed by the royal decree of 1804, respecting the clearing of the rivers, and by an ordinance of 19th December 1827. According to these, no single holding (*besuttenhet*) must contain less ground than is sufficient for the maintenance of three able-bodied labourers, one horse, a pair of steers, three or four cows, and five or six sheep or goats. Experience shows that from twelve to twenty acres are required for this ; but abuse goes on, and these possessions are daily diminished, until the occupants are plunged in misery, and the *hemmans* become so small that they will not defray the legal expense of selling them. Government has attempted, but hitherto in vain, to remedy this evil, which, unless it be checked by enforcing the law regulating these subdivisions, threatens to convert the great body of the Swedish agriculturists into a nation of paupers.

habits among the inferior orders. Since 1803 upwards of 6000 farms have been created out of large tracts of crown-lands previously lying waste. The result has been of immense value to the agricultural prosperity of Sweden. Instead of depending upon foreign supplies of grain, she affords abundant provision for the inhabitants, and annually exports a considerable surplus. In 1829, the deficient harvest of France was recruited from the produce of Scandinavia ; and in 1830 the ports of Malmo, Landsrona, and Wisby alone sent to England 32,500 tons of oats, and 3000 of barley.

The total arable land in the kingdom is reckoned nearly at 80 Swedish, or 3480 English square miles. The quantity in meadow and pasture is more than double that amount (7350 square miles) ; but, according to Forsell, the farmers do not avail themselves to the full extent of their advantages. They are deficient in the management of green crops, and the judicious breeding of cattle ; nor have they paid sufficient attention to the establishment of magazines or public granaries, which, in a climate where the harvest is exposed to so many casualties, seems to be recommended by the clearest prudence. The forests cover a surface of 137,420 square miles ; but the state of neglect in which they are suffered to lie makes them, instead of a vast source of wealth, little better than a desert.

At present, it may be affirmed of the Swedish farmers in general, that they lead a quiet and laborious life, alike free from the depressions and the elevations of fortune, enjoying an equal share of civil rights with the nobles, but paying a much heavier proportion of the national burdens. The number of proprietors in Sweden is reckoned at 923,000 individuals, or 322,000 families ; but that of labourers is considerably greater in proportion, being estimated at 2,067,000, or seven-ninths of the whole population. This preponderance of the industrial classes is caused by the poverty of the soil, which requires extraordinary culture, and by the shortness of the summer, which brings the crops almost to simultaneous maturity, and renders it necessary for the

husbandman to double his activity. The relative quantity of arable and pasture land is small compared with the superficial extent of the country ; but it varies materially in different provinces. Scania and the central districts are the most productive, and yield returns equal to the best soils in France or England. Barley, rye, oats, and farinaceous vegetables, are found in all latitudes. Wheat, which, forty years ago, was only grown in Scania, is now cultivated as far north as Umea, where a small portion was sown in 1825, which yielded six-fold. The total produce of the kingdom in grain, in 1828, was 6,499,000 tons, and 3,248,000 of potatoes ; the latter crop is much cultivated, and has obtained a preference over all other alimentary plants. Money-rents are unknown, except in the richer districts ; the ordinary mode is in kind, or payment by labour, the peasant agreeing to work a certain number of days for the proprietor, in exchange for a piece of ground sufficient to maintain his family.

A farmer's capital seldom exceeds £500 or £600 ; with £2000 he is reputed opulent. The culture of tobacco, hemp, and flax, constitutes an important branch of agricultural industry ; and in Scania madder and woad have been added to the other green crops. Of the entire produce of the kingdom, it is reckoned that a third part is consumed in seed, distilleries, breweries, and the feeding of cattle. Great pains have been taken in multiplying and improving the breed of domestic animals, but they all appear to be of a degenerate race. The horses are small, though hardy and active ; the total number employed in husbandry is 400,000, of which Scania supplies 80,000. In Norrland and Jamtland they become fewer, and on the borders of Lapland they disappear altogether, their services being performed by rein-deer and dogs. The quantity of black cattle is very great, and forms an essential part of the Swedish rural economy. The amount of oxen, cows, and calves, is computed at 1,900,000 ; the largest are reared in Scania, but the most numerous herds abound in the fine pastures of Gothland, Wermeland, and Dalecarlia. In summer they

are driven to the mountains, and gathered in folds by the sound of a horn or lure, as in Switzerland. The sheep are computed at 1,562,000, but they have a stunted miserable appearance, notwithstanding the pains taken to meliorate the species by crossing them with Saxon, French, or English breeds. The wool is of a tolerably good quality, and is nearly all consumed in the fabrics of the country. Towards the sixty-third degree, the race ceases, and is supplanted by goats; but the latter animals are not very abundant, their number being reckoned at 173,000, of which Dalecarlia and Norrland alone produce 132,000.*

With regard to the distribution of wealth among the different classes of the community, some idea may be obtained from the calculations of Forsell, who states (in 1820) the number of opulent families at 11,512; in easy circumstances, 154,324; in indigence, 238,910; in absolute poverty, 78,489. It is perhaps impossible to draw a strict line of separation between these respective distributions; but they seem to prove that above one-half of the Swedes are poor, and that every fifth person is unable to support himself. Of this latter class, 9240 were inmates of poors-houses,—institutions which, in the opinion of the able statist already so often quoted, tend to create the very evils which they propose to alleviate. Besides dissipation, misfortune in business, and other casualties, there is one cause, rather peculiar, assigned for the great extent of pauperism in Sweden,—the devastations committed by beasts of prey. In 1827, the number of domestic animals, such as rein-deer, horses, cows, sheep, and goats, thus destroyed, was 36,613, valued at 131,091 rix-dollars.

The mountainous structure of Norway, its variable climate and steril soil, are unpropitious to the purposes of agriculture. In former times, this department of national industry was almost entirely neglected; “the rustic bigotry of the peasants (says Pontoppidan) inclining them more to fell timber or serve in the fisheries,

* Daumont, Voyage in Suède, tome i. ch. 17.

than to clear and improve their lands ; so that the farmer who, by his yearly tillage, could support his family till Christmas, was accounted a notable man, and in good circumstances." Since that period, the system of husbandry has undergone many important changes, although it has still to contend with numerous impediments. The degree of fertility varies in different parts of the country ; the valleys near Christiania are well cultivated, and present as rich harvest-prospects as any that are to be seen in the finest counties of England. Apples and cherries arrive at perfect maturity ; and, in some gardens, peaches, apricots, and melons, are cultivated with success. Near Trondheim these delicate fruits do not ripen, but they are found to thrive in higher latitudes, under the shelter of hills and the bland influence of the sea. Even in the dreary region of Senjen, near the seventieth degree, the inhabitants speak of theirs being "a blessed corn-country ;" a compliment that must be understood relatively, and in contrast with the naked rocks of the surrounding landscape. At Levanger the farmers evince greater skill and activity in their agricultural operations than in the southern provinces,—a circumstance which some have attributed to their intercourse with the Swedes from Jamtland, who frequent their markets. Potatoes have not been long generally known in Norway. About sixty years ago, they were imported to Bergen by the Dutch as a rare foreign production, and used only at weddings or particular festivals. Peter Herzberg had made some earlier attempts to cultivate that plant, but did not succeed. His experiments were published in a small treatise in 1773, and by this means the culture was propagated over all the southern provinces ; though it was not until 1790 that it penetrated to the borders of Lapland.*

The crops present the same variety as in the sister kingdom. There is little wheat raised ; barley and rye are more abundant ; but oats is the grain that succeeds best. In the valleys, numerous herds and

* Von Buch's Travels. Laing's Residence.

flocks are reared, which constitute the patriarchal wealth of the natives. The horses are small, but vigorous, swift, and sure-footed ; the horned cattle browse in peace on the mountains, or in the islands that bound the western coast. The breed is fine-boned, thin-skinned, the colour generally white, or sometimes mixed with red. Sheep and goats are plentiful ; the former are shaped like deer, with long legs and small muzzles, but the mutton is of excellent flavour. From the earliest times the land has been parcelled out into small estates of 40 or 60 acres, affording a competent subsistence, with a moderate share of the elegancies of civilized life ; but in no degree supplying the means of luxury, or the accumulation of wealth. The number of proprietors, in proportion to the rest of the population, is greater perhaps than in any other country in Europe. In 1819 there were reckoned about 41,656 estates, and 910,000 inhabitants, which is at the rate of one in every twenty-two possessing actual ownership in the soil. The income, even of the most substantial of these landholders, is but inconsiderable compared with that of the same classes in Great Britain, and cannot be estimated beyond 800 or 900 dollars (£160 to £180) a-year. The produce is chiefly consumed in the family, except what is required for paying taxes, or bartered for such articles of domestic use as cannot be raised at home.

These petty manors are scattered on the sides of lakes and fiords, penetrating up every glen or valley as far as corn will grow, and stretching over a vast extent of country, from the shore to the base of the mountains. The class who occupy them are the agricultural peasantry, or *bonder*, each the owner of his own farm. They are in general a fine athletic race of men, the flower of what may be called the Norwegian yeomanry. Equally remote from poverty and affluence, and addicted neither to extravagance nor enterprise, they are content to enjoy the simple comforts of their paternal domains, which, in several instances, have descended in lineal succession since the conquest of Harald Haar-

fager. The field-bonder are distinct from the agriculturists ; they are the Scandinavian backwoodsmen, and subsist by rearing cattle in the mountains, selling game, or felling timber, where they have the advantage of streams capable of floating the trees to a saw-mill.

The tenure of property in Norway differs in principle from that established in countries where the feudal system prevailed. The peasantry, having been always free and never attached to the soil, were, by the ancient udal laws, possessors of the land in their own right ; being subject only to the general jurisdiction of the legislature. During the 400 years that the kingdom was under the nominally absolute government of Denmark, this system remained undisturbed ; nor is it surprising that the people should have clung to it so tenaciously. Udal or odel land holds of no superior, not even the king ; and consequently it is subject to none of the burdens, fines, astrictions, or other casualties and exactions, that have affected more or less all property held by feudal tenure, either from the sovereign or his vassal. In such a state of society, where neither personal suit nor military service constituted the right of possession, there obviously existed no legal necessity for the law of primogeniture, or for giving a preference as successor to the eldest male heir. All the kindred of the udaller, in the order of consanguinity, have a certain claim or interest in the estate, called the *odelsbaarn ret*, or birthright ; which entitles them to redeem it if sold or alienated, on repaying the purchase-money.

But the effect of this system is not, as has been erroneously alleged, to give equal inheritance to all the children. A distinction was observed between sons and daughters, the portion of the former being twofold that of the latter. In regard to real and personal property, the law, where there was no testamentary disposition, made an equal distribution of their respective shares among the male heirs ; but this equality did not extend to the subdivision of the patrimonial estate, which has always been secured entire to the eldest son, as sole pos-

scissor; liable of course to pecuniary burdens for brothers and sisters, regulated by the parents' will, or by law, in the proportions already mentioned. The udal system, although it imposes limitations on the subdivision of land, and goes much farther in that respect than the laws in this country, where property may be frittered down to acres and roods, is nevertheless an obstacle in the way of conducting agricultural operations on the same enlarged and improved scale as is done by the higher class of farmers in England and Scotland. In Guldbrandsdal, the Miosen district, and some other valleys where the peasantry have the advantage of a good soil and the means of irrigation, their mode of cultivation is respectable, and their condition happy; but in general, neither the practice nor the implements of Norwegian husbandry are superior to what they were in Britain a century ago.

The statistics of Norwegian rural economy have of late excited the attention of the government. According to Mr Hagelstroem, not more than the 115th part of the entire surface of the kingdom is under cultivation; the annual produce of which is stated at 2,650,000 tons,—a quantity inadequate to the sustenance of the inhabitants. Among other meliorations that have been recently introduced into that country, is the formation of agricultural societies, and the experiments that have been made, in some places, of the Scottish method of husbandry; but the great bar to improvement is the indolence of the peasants, and their unconquerable aversion to any innovation upon old established customs. The extensive distillation of corn-brandy is highly injurious to the prosperity of the farmer, as it causes a wasteful expenditure of grain, that might have been sent to the market; and creates no return, except in a way that is pernicious to the health and morals of the people. Before the union with Sweden, Norway frequently imported grain to the amount of 1,000,000 tons annually; she now imports about 750,000 tons; but of these 500,000 are consumed in the distilleries.

SECTION VI.—CURRENCY, FINANCE, AND METROLOGY.

The present monetary system of Denmark was established in the year 1813, in order to remedy the abuses of a depreciated paper-currency which then existed. According to this system, the Cologne mark of fine silver (3608 Troy grains) is coined into $18\frac{1}{2}$ pieces, called rigsbank dollars, each equal to one-half of the old *species* dollar. The rigsbank dollar is divided into 6 marks, or 96 skillings; and in this the money-accounts are now generally kept throughout the kingdom, though in some of the larger mercantile houses they are kept in Hamburg marcs *banco*. The par of exchange with London is 9 RD. 10 skill. per £1 sterling; thus making the full value of the rigsbank dollar about 2s. $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. Nearly all the exchange business, however, is transacted through the medium of Hamburg, the par being 200 RD. for 300 marcs Hamburg *banco*, independent of the premium or *agio* payable by Denmark. Reckoning the *agio* at 2 per cent., the par of exchange betwixt London and Denmark, through Hamburg, is 9 RD. 27 skill. per £1 sterling, making the rigsbank dollar, according to this valuation, worth 2s. $1\frac{3}{4}$ d.

The National Bank at Copenhagen, formerly called the Royal Bank, or *Rigsbank*, issues notes for 1, 5, 10, 50, and 100 rigsbank dollars, which are used in the general business of the country. These notes are at a discount, but they pass current according to their rate of exchange for specie, called *rigsbank silver value*, which is adjusted by certain authorities quarterly. The National Bank also advances money on bills and other securities, and on gold and silver bullion. Besides this bank, there is an exchange and loan bank at Copenhagen; and at Altona there is an exchange, loan, and discount bank.

The national debt of Denmark amounts to about thirteen millions sterling.* The public revenue, according

* In 1822, a loan of £3,000,000, bearing interest at 5 per cent., was raised in London for Denmark, which was taken at $77\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1825, a new loan, bearing interest at 3 per cent., was

to a recent statement, is about a million and a half, composed of a land and house tax, £411,221 ; customs and excise, £390,222 ; Sound dues, £200,335 ; crown lands, £165,555 ; lottery, stamps, and other receipts, £382,111. The expenditure is of nearly the same amount, including £530,555 as interest upon the national debt.

The chief commercial weights are the shippond of 20 lisponds, or 320 lbs. ; 100 lbs. Danish being equal to $110\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. avoirdupois. The last of corn contains 12 tons or barrels, equal to 45·91 imperial bushels. The principal wine measures are the viertel = 1·70 imp. gallons ; and the ahm of 4 ankers or 33·14 imp. gallons. The Danish ell is equal to 2 Rhineland feet, or 24·71 imp. inches. A Danish mile measures 8244 imp. yards, or 4·684 British statute miles.

In Norway, the species dollar is the principal silver coin, and divided into 120 skillings. It is equal to 2 rigsbank dollars, or 3 Hamburg marcs banco, or about 4s. $4\frac{3}{4}$ d. sterling. There are also half-species or 60 skilling pieces, 24 skilling pieces, 8 skilling pieces, and small change called skilling mint ; but there is no gold currency nor private banking-houses. For sums below a mark or ort, there is a copper and silver coinage of one and two skilling pieces. The public bank, established in 1816, has its principal office at Trondheim, with branches at Christiania, Bergen, and Christiansand. Its capital consists of two millions of species dollars in transferable shares, which were lately at a premium of 30 per cent. It issues notes for 100, 50, 10, and so low as 1 species dollar ; and was said lately to have about 5,200,000 species dollars in circulation. The smaller notes are printed on white paper ; those of 5 dollars on blue ; of 10 on yellow ; and of 50 on green. It discounts bills, advances money on mortgage or landed securities, at 4 per cent., and transacts the ordinary busi-

raised in order to discharge the unredeemed balance of the loan of 1822 and for other purposes. This loan was for £5,500,000, of which £3,500,000 was contracted for in London at 75 per cent., the remainder being retained by the Danish government to be sold on occasion required.

ness of individuals, but does not allow interest on deposits. Accounts are kept throughout Norway, and exchanges effected, in bank or paper species dollars, divided into the same number of skillings as the metallic species dollar. The course of exchange with London was recently quoted at 5 sp. d. 15 skill. per £1 sterling, thus making the paper dollar worth about 3s. 11d. To adjust the difference that had arisen in practice between the value of paper and silver money, which, in 1822, was no less than 187½ to 100 dollars on the Exchange at Hamburg, the Storthing, in February 1836, passed a law, fixing 115 and 110 paper dollars as the maximum and minimum rates at which the bank could pay 100 dollars in silver. The Norwegian weights and measures are the same as those of Denmark.

The financial concerns of Norway are in a very prosperous condition. The national debt, which weighs heavily on most other European countries, is there proceeding rapidly towards annihilation. That derived from the rigsbank, which was 2,200,000 rigsbankdaler, is totally extinguished; a great part of the foreign debt has also been liquidated, not only without fresh loans, but accompanied by successive reductions in the public burdens. The course of exchange has been gradually improved since 1822, and last year (1836) it was nearly at par. The bank has now about 5,200,000 species dollars in circulation. In 1826, the active funds amounted to 6,900,000 species; in 1835 to 8,737,000, with upwards of 3,000,000 in bullion. In the account which his Swedish majesty caused to be laid before the extraordinary Storthing of 1836, the following statement is given respecting the national income and expenditure:—"The revenues of Norway have increased with its population and industry. From 1816 to 1825, the average sum which the customs paid into the treasury was 241,039 species (metallic), and 825,920 species (paper). In the ten following years, notwithstanding a reduction in the rate of duties, the average receipts have been 802,800 species (metallic), and 518,000 (paper). During the last year the receipts were 1,071,770 species

(metallic), and 537,652 (paper). The expense for the public debt, the army and navy, the administration, public instruction, &c. has not exceeded, during the last ten years, 2,300,000 species (paper) per annum ; from which it is plain that the revenue derived from the customs suffices for two-thirds of the public expenses. Direct taxes are consequently very light. The direct tax on towns and on fields, which in 1818 was 600,000 species, has been successively diminished to 185,000 species per year. The taxes generally are equally levied, and the flourishing state of the revenue has enabled his majesty to propose considerable diminution in the municipal and other local contributions."

In Sweden, the monetary system differs from that in the sister kingdom. There are no coins in circulation except copper ; the currency being almost entirely composed of bank paper, the value of which fluctuates with the state of the exchange. It is of two sorts, *Banco* and *Riksgald* ; the former issued by the National Bank, and the latter, which is now but little used, by the *Riksgald* or Government Bank. *Banco* is reckoned 50 per cent. more valuable than *Riksgald*. Accounts are kept in rix-dollars *banco*, divided into 48 skillings each, of 12 rundstycken or ore. The rix-dollar *banco* is commonly reckoned worth 1s. 8d. sterling ; but the exchange with London was lately quoted at 14 rix-dollars for £1, at which rate it would be equal to only 1s. 5½d.

The financial condition of Sweden has for several years been gradually improving ; and she now enjoys the singular good fortune of having entirely extinguished a national debt which, towards the close of the war, had brought her to the verge of ruin. This immense reduction is the more extraordinary, considering the liberal encouragement which the reigning monarch has extended to every branch of public industry. The budget in 1829 amounted to 8,949,194 rix-dollars *banco* (£745,766 sterling), of which 2,052,630 were appropriated to the civil administration ; 3,249,524 to the army and defences by land ; 1,201,527 to the fleet ; 134,348 to agriculture and commerce ; 542,866 to religion and educa-

tion; 63,006 to pensions; and 27,085 to the fine arts. The budget for 1830 was increased to 11,249,989 rix-dollars banco. The gross revenue at the same date was estimated at 19,465,970 rix-dollars; of which the land-tax (*grundskat*) produced 12,622,621; property in towns, 1,862,149; customs (1832) 2,801,840; post-office, 350,560; the remainder being made up from stamps, brandy, and other imposts. This is a large amount of taxation to be levied from a country, the monetary and manufacturing operations of which are on so limited a scale. The entire produce of the kingdom, according to Forsell, may be calculated at about 100,000,000 rix-dollars banco, of which 45,000,000 are contributed by the land; so that in Sweden the taxes amount to nearly one-fifth of the total value, or no less than one-nineteenth of the capital of the country; which is, relatively, a much heavier burden than either England or France supports. The number of inhabitants rated for assessments in 1826 was 387,258.

The principal commercial weight is the victualie pound, 20 of which make 1 lispund, and 20 lispunds equal 1 skippund; 100 lbs. vict. wt. are reckoned equal to $93\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. avoirdupois. The Swedish metal weight is $4\frac{1}{5}$ ths of the victualie weight. Liquids are measured by the kanna, 100 kannor being reckoned equal to 57.58 imp. galls. The tunna of 36 kappar, used for corn, contains $4\frac{1}{2}$ imperial bushels. The Swedish ell of 2 feet is equal to 23.37 imp. inches; and the Swedish mile is equal to 11,700 imp. yards, or $6\frac{1}{4}$ British statute miles.

SECTION VII.—COMMERCE.

The maritime advantages of Denmark and the Scandinavian kingdoms have long been rendered available for commercial enterprise. Their trade has, at various periods, been affected by external events; but even in its highest prosperity, it can hardly entitle them to hold a prominent rank among the mercantile states of Europe. The Dane exchanges the produce of his soil, his rivers, lakes, and seas, for articles which his own climate denies him, but which the progress of civilisation has

rendered necessary to his subsistence. He exports grain, cheese, wool, tallow, hides, feathers, fish, salted provisions, and fabrics of his own manufacture, such as hosiery, lace, and cotton stuffs; and for these he takes in return, sugar, coffee, rice, logwood, tobacco, salt, rum, wine, fruits, and various other luxuries of colonial or European growth. In 1831, the total exports of domestic produce were valued at £1,295,011 sterling; amongst which are included 54,952 quarters of wheat or flour; 37,921 of rye; 282,408 of barley and groats; 9228 of malt; 169,815 of oats or meal; 71,608 of rapeseed; 47,658 barrels of butter; 8590 cwts. of cheese; 115,755 gallons of brandy; 17,934 cwts. of pork; 9500 barrels of herrings; and 857,436 lbs. of wool. Of grain and flour imported during that year (including the duchies of Sleswig and Holstein), the quantity was 163,146 quarters. The number of merchant-vessels belonging to the kingdom in 1830 was 3691, and their tonnage 124,984, which is less, by a fifth part, than the amount in 1800,—a decrease that must be attributed to the loss of Norway, and the restrictions imposed on the Baltic trade during the war. The total ships from foreign ports that entered the harbour of Copenhagen in 1831 amounted to 1505, of which 81 were from the Danish colonies; 309 from Sweden; 208 from Norway; 160 from Great Britain; 137 from Russia; and 305 from Prussia. The returns of vessels from different countries which passed the Sound, and cleared at Elsineur, during the year 1833, show a gross amount of 10,985, and 1,683,233 of tonnage. Of these, 826 were Danish; 1069 Swedish; 1461 Norwegian; 3192 British; 2089 Prussian; 530 Russian; 370 Dutch; 554 Mecklenburg; 124 French; and 166 American. The rest belonged to other nations, of which 3 only were Belgians and 4 Portuguese.*

The principal commerce of Denmark consists in the exportation of its raw produce; but there is a considerable transit trade carried on in bulky articles with the southern states of Europe. Much business is also trans-

* Official Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce, &c., of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies, from 1820 to 1833.

acted by commission, the quantity of which is every day increasing. The Danish merchants were in a flourishing condition during the early period of the French revolutionary wars; but from 1807 to the general peace, their losses were immense. For the last ten or twelve years, however, their commercial enterprise has assumed new vigour, and would doubtless have made greater progress, had it not been fettered by custom-house duties and indirect taxes. Next to Copenhagen, the most important trading city is Altona, which exports various manufactures, besides being extensively engaged in the herring and whale fisheries. Kiel has a secure harbour, which is entered annually by more than 500 vessels: Flensburg is the most prosperous town in Jutland, and gives employment for 800 ships, of which 250 belong to the place. Aalborg and Aarhus deal in fish, grain, and cattle, the finest of which come from the environs of Randers. Elsineur is the celebrated roadstead, where the ships of all nations, even those of the Danes themselves, that pass the Sound, cast anchor to take in supplies, and pay toll, which amounts to one per cent. on the value of merchandise belonging to privileged states, and one and a quarter in regard to others. This tribute, which has been exacted since the reign of Christian IV., is levied for the ostensible purpose of maintaining lighthouses on the coast. Considerable surprise has often been expressed at the tacit submission of the naval powers of Europe to the payment of these arbitrary dues; but they seem to consider the amount of impost, and its annoyances to trade, at least compensated by the advantages to navigation.*

The natural position of Sweden, the situation of her principal seaport-towns, the facility of her internal communications, and the variety of her native productions, all point her out as an essentially maritime and commercial power. To a vast extent of coast she adds the advantages of exclusively possessing the key of the Baltic in her own territories, and affording, in her rivers, lakes,

* Coxe's Travels, vol. iv. b. viii. c. 1.

and canals, innumerable channels of inland navigation, which in winter are converted into frozen railroads, on which the heaviest substances can be transported in sledges. Besides these physical accommodations, the Swedes have inducements to embark in trade, arising from their soil and climate, which compel them to draw from other countries various commodities that cannot be procured by their own industry. In return for these, they export their iron, copper, timber, pitch, potash, flax, hemp, oil, fish, anchors, cordage, and other articles of marine, in sufficient quantities to ensure a profitable balance in their favour. But their gain is increased when such traffic is carried on principally, or to a great extent, in native vessels; a wider sphere of activity is thereby opened; the owner of the forest and the forge, the shipbuilder and the manufacturer, with their fixed capital and numerous operatives, are set to work, and a new portion of the community is called into active employment. The extension of commerce may be inferred from the gradual augmentation of the Swedish shipping. In the fourteenth century, the kingdom possessed only 200 vessels; in 1800 it had 1224; and in 1831 the number was 2450, exclusive of large and small boats employed in coasting. At the latter date, about 1500 of these merchantmen were occupied in the Baltic or Danish trade; 345 frequented the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas; 215 were distributed among the ports of the German and Atlantic Oceans, from the mouth of the Elbe to Gibraltar; 124 were despatched to England; 45 to Brazil; and 19 to the United States. Fleets occasionally depart from Stockholm for India and China, where they exchange their cargoes, on advantageous terms, for silks and teas.

The returns of 1831 give the entries of native ships at 2427, and of foreign at 1576. Of the former, the departures were 2379, and of the latter 1576; the tonnage of which, in their respective orders, was 69,099; 68,258; 74,117; 68,256. Compared with British or French commerce, that of Sweden will appear inconsiderable. The total value of exports in 1831 was

reckoned at 13,564,618 rix-dollars banco ; and of imports at 12,302,682. The former consisted chiefly of raw material or manufactured produce, of which iron was the most important ; the latter were principally articles of merchandise, such as coffee, sugar, wines, tobacco, cotton, fruits, and other domestic commodities. The countries that take the most active part in the export trade, are Britain and America, whose purchases in 1831 were estimated at 3,236,700, and 3,199,255 rix-dollars banco respectively, being nearly half the entire amount, and leaving a balance of 3,785,277 in favour of Sweden.

Next in the extent of their demands, are Denmark, Hamburg, and Lubeck ; the former exporting to the value of 1,556,814, and the two latter of 875,235 rix-dollars. The intercourse with the Danish ports has increased of late years ; in 1831, it employed 877 vessels, with cargoes computed at 26,000 lasts ; more than one-half of which discharged at Copenhagen, and the rest at Kiel, Flensburg, and Aalborg. The communication between Scania and Elsinour is conducted in open boats, which are estimated at 150. With Russia, Finland, Prussia, Hanover, and Mecklenburg, an active trade is carried on, through the ports of Riga, Petersburg, Königsberg, Stralsund, Dantzic, Rostock, and Wismar. The whole external trade of the kingdom is conducted in the cities of Stockholm, Gottenborg, Norrköping, Gefle, Carlshamn, Westervik, and a few other smaller towns. The capital, from its local advantages, and its numerous inland water conveyances, naturally holds the first rank as a mercantile depot, and absorbs two-thirds of the foreign commerce. The entrance into the Mælar lake is intricate and difficult ; but these inconveniences are more than compensated by the excellence of the harbour, which admits of all shipping operations being carried on with extreme facility in the heart of the city. The next principal entrepot is Gottenborg, long the rival of the metropolis. During the war, it became, from its geographical position, the chief point of contact with England and the continent ; and to the vast commercial activity which it displayed between 1809 and 1814, it owed the rapid increase of its prosperity.

But the downfall of Napoleon and the re-opening of the Baltic, brought these fortunate speculations to a sudden close ; credit vanished,—failures multiplied, and thousands of families were plunged in embarrassment or ruin. It is probable, however, that its commercial importance and flourishing condition may again be restored ; several of its respectable merchants have survived the wreck of 1814 ; and at present it enjoys a full half of the colonial imports, and a fourth part of the trade in all other produce. The number of vessels that entered the port in 1831 was 569, with a tonnage of 63,105, of which 41 were British ; 63 American ; 152 Swedish ; 233 Norwegian ; and 31 Danish. In the same year, there cleared outwards 626 ships, with 107,701 of tonnage ; the value of articles imported, consisting of sugar, coffee, rice, tobacco, cotton, dye-woods, salt, train-oil, and a few others, was £180,820 sterling. The amount of iron exported was 21,639 tons, valued at £227,210, of which a fifth part was disposed of in the English market, and two-thirds in the United States. The trade of Norrköping, Gefle, Sundsvall, Carlshamn, and some other towns, is chiefly in timber, copper, iron, fish, and grain. Wisby, Calmar, Skara, and Upsala, were celebrated in the middle ages as entrepôts of Asiatic luxury ; the silks, spices, and perfumes of the East, found their way from the Caspian to the Baltic through the lakes and rivers of Muscovy ; but this commercial link was dissolved when Timur laid the city of Astracan in ruins.

The mineral products of Norway are not considerable, but they merit notice. Her iron and copper have for twenty years found a market abroad ; and there is a strong hope that by the adoption of improvement in smelting, this branch of industry may be rapidly extended. The silver mines of Kongsberg, which the Storthings of 1827 and 1830 would have sold for 75,000 *species dalers*, but for the opposition of the king, have given to the treasury within the last seven years, after paying all expenses, 700,000 *species*.

In the English market, Swedish iron has been greatly superseded by the native manufacture, which, for all

purposes except fine cutlery, is not only cheaper but reckoned better than the foreign article. The Norwegian iron is of various qualities, but in general it is thought superior to the British. The produce and value of this commodity are considerably affected by the state of the timber trade ; when the latter is dull, charcoal for the furnaces can be more readily and abundantly obtained, which diminishes the cost in the production of the former article ; and on the contrary, when the demand for timber is brisk, the expense in the manufacture of iron is increased. In the years 1829-30-31, the total exports of iron from Norway amounted in tons to 3164, 3000, and 2516 ; of this latter quantity, only 377 tons were imported into Britain. In Sweden there are from 330 to 340 smelting furnaces, which produce annually from 90,000 to 95,000 tons of pig iron ; in converting this into bar iron, about 23 per cent. is allowed for wastage, so that the annual product of the latter will be from 63,000 to 65,000 tons. The total exports of this commodity, at an average of ten years ending in 1831, were 49,568 tons annually ; of which 10,000 were sent to Great Britain, 20,000 to the United States, 15,000 to Germany, Holland, France, and Portugal ; and the remainder to Brazil, including a small quantity to the Mediterranean.* British iron and articles of hardware at present find their way to the Baltic in considerable quantities. In the year 1835, there were exported to Sweden about 100 tons, to Norway 150, and to Denmark 3210. The extraordinary activity that has of late taken place in the manufacture of this commodity in England, is to be ascribed to the increased demand for it in building, machinery, railroads, and other projects.

The mercantile prosperity of Norway has been augmented by its association with the sister kingdom. Its foreign relations are extensive ; but the principal countries with which it holds commercial intercourse

* Official Tables, p. 550-556. For an account of the mines in Sweden and Norway, and the amount of their produce, see the chapter on Natural History, section i. p. 389-395.

are Denmark, Hanover, Britain, Holland, and France. In 1831 the amount of vessels that entered its ports was 5649, and their tonnage 446,339 ; of these 2119 belonged to Denmark ; 1060 to England ; 937 to Holland, Bremen, and Hanover ; 414 to Sweden ; 385 to France ; 175 to Hamburg and Altona ; 151 to Russia ; and 127 to Spain and Portugal. The total number that cleared outward to the same places was 5475, and a tonnage of 443,470 ; of these 413 sailed from Christiania. The exports consist chiefly of timber, bark, tar, fish, and other articles similar to those already enumerated. The customs duties amounted in 1831 to £161,840, 5s. 3d. inwards, and £47,381, 8s. 3d. outwards ; making together £209,221, 13s. 6d., to which ought to be added, £27,436, 19s. 5d., received on account of tonnage, dues, lights, &c.

The principal imports in 1831 were coffee, 1,995,603 lbs. ; tobacco, 1,191,512 lbs. ; woollens, 213,290 lbs. ; cotton goods, 191,823 lbs. ; sailcloth, 160,316 lbs. ; barley, 160,982 qrs. ; rye, 148,607 qrs. ; salt, 143,493 lbs. French brandy, 80,107 galls. ; wine, 48,313 galls. ; sugar, 23,734 cwts. ; tea, 48,671 lbs. ; oats, 15,597 qrs. ; malt, 17,657 qrs. ; wheat-flour, 6748 cwts. ; hemp, 13,879 cwts. ; flax, 4533 cwts. In 1824, the shipping employed between Great Britain and Norway was only 130,000 tons, showing an increase in seven years of nearly a tenth part of the whole commerce of the kingdom.

The shipping of Norway has not augmented in the same proportion as its trade, but it has increased and is now increasing. In spite of the impediments laid in the way of Norwegian vessels, they are employed with much advantage in the carrying trade for other nations. The tonnage, twelve years ago, was 53,000 *last*, and the number of vessels 1700 ; the tonnage may now be estimated at 72,000 *last*, and the vessels at 2200. The number of seamen is 12,000 ; ten years ago, the number was 8000. Between 1830 and 1834, nearly 3600 Norwegian vessels visited foreign ports.

From the superior qualities of Baltic timber, and the consequent demand for it by those countries that cannot raise an adequate supply of home growth, this branch

of trade holds a prominent importance in Northern commerce. The woods of Sweden and Norway contain rich stores for traffic, and have long furnished the chief article of export to Great Britain. In the provinces of Dalecarlia, Jamtland, Angermania, and West Bothnia, there are extensive forests sufficient to meet even an increased consumption in the foreign markets. ~~It~~ costs a considerable expense to float the timber down the streams; and these, almost throughout the whole of Sweden, require to be cleansed before this mode of conveyance is practicable. From motives of economy, the woods on the banks of the rivers are first cleared away; they have been felled along the margin of the Clara to the distance of 100 miles, and around the Lake Wener they have nearly altogether disappeared.

The exorbitant duty imposed by Great Britain upon this commodity, has proved injurious to the Baltic trade, and led to a very general concurrence of opinion, in both countries, as to the propriety of its reduction. The origin of this oppressive tariff is to be found in the events that took place in 1808, when the Baltic was shut to English commerce, and a deficiency in the accustomed supply of timber began to be apprehended. To encourage its importation from Canada became the object of the British government, and supplied the motive for increasing the duty on that imported from the north of Europe. In 1787 the rate was 6s. 8d. the load of 50 cubic feet in native ships, and 2d. more in foreign; in 1801 it was raised to 14s. 8d.; in 1809 to £1, 7s. 4d.; and in 1810, which was the commencement of the protective system, it was doubled. Three years afterwards, five per cent. was added; and by the Consolidation Act of 1819 it amounted to £3, 5s. The duty on deals rose in the same proportion; in 1787 it was £2, 13s. the great hundred (of 120 pieces under twenty feet in length); and in 1819 it had increased to £20, 15s. 8d. In 1821 the scale of dimensions was changed; the rate was then made £19 upon the 120 deals not above sixteen feet long; and £22 upon those from sixteen to twenty-one feet in length. At the same period the duty on colonial deals of

16 feet long, was only £2 ; and £2, 10s. for those of 21 feet. The consequences of this inequality soon produced their natural result. In 1809 the amount of British shipping entered inwards from the north was 428,000 tons ; whilst in 1814, the year after the twenty-five per cent. of additional duty had been imposed on Baltic timber, and when the ports of that sea were open, only 242,000 tons were entered.

This falling off in the exportation of Norwegian timber to England has thrown a larger proportion of the trade into the hands of France. In 1805 the quantity of lasts shipped from Christiania, Drammen, Laurvig, Frederickstadt, and the other southern ports, was 147,761 to Britain, and only 5511 to France ; in 1819 the former imported 69,448, and the latter 26,448 ; in 1829 the proportion was 47,659 to 49,013 ; and in 1834 it stood 51,263 to 60,305 ; thus showing that the balance had completely turned to the advantage of French commerce, which follows a more equitable system of duties.

The measures adopted by the British government in 1821 for remedying these inequalities, by reducing the duty on Baltic timber from £3, 5s. to £2, 15s. per load, and at the same time imposing an addition of 10s. on that imported from America, proved comparatively inefficient. The difference in favour of Canada was still too great to produce the advantages intended by the nearer approach to equalization ; so much so, that several instances occurred of ships loading in the Baltic with timber for England taking the route by America, the difference of duty being found nearly sufficient to cover the enormous expense of this circuitous voyage. The evil resulting from this system was twofold, because it laid the heavier burden on the superior article. All competent judges have admitted that the American timber is softer, less durable, and more subject to the dry rot, than the same description of wood produced in the north of Europe. The consequence of thus excluding the better commodity is, that not only does the British revenue suffer a great loss (calculated in 1829 at a million and a half sterling), but the merchant is forced either to

purchase it at an extravagant rate, or to use a cheaper material of a very inferior quality.

The principal reason urged for keeping up the high discriminating duties is, the apprehension that their abolition would prove injurious to Canada and the shipping interest of Great Britain. The soundness of this opinion, however, has been called in question; and it is believed that the loss to the colonies would be of inconsiderable extent, and but temporary in its consequences.* Proposals have been repeatedly made for modifying the timber-duties. It was attempted in the House of Commons (March 1831) to reduce them gradually, by taking off 6s. a-load in January 1832; other 6s. in 1833, and 3s. more in 1834, making a total of 15s. on Baltic timber, and leaving a protection of 30s. in favour of Canada. These propositions were negatived; but in 1835 a select committee was appointed to take the subject into consideration, who gave it as their opinion, that the difference of 45s. of duty upon European timber, as compared with American, is too great; and that a reduction not exceeding 15s. a-load appeared to them to be a fair arrangement, and having a due regard both to the shipping and colonial interests which had been created under the existing system. They proposed no augmentation of duty on Canada timber; but they recommended a uniform mode of rating deals throughout the United Kingdom, such as might approach more nearly to a payment according to their contents, instead of their dimensions in length, breadth, and thickness. This plan would cause an improvement in the quality, and also be more convenient for builders, by allowing the importation of a greater variety of sizes.

* This question will be found discussed at some length in an article on the Commerce of Canada, preparing for a future volume of the Cabinet Library, by a gentleman long resident in that country, and conversant with the details of the timber-trade. It is the opinion of that writer that the reduction of the Baltic duties would prove beneficial both to Britain and her colonies, and that although a quantity of shipping, perhaps about 42,000 tons, might be thereby thrown out of employment, yet a portion of this would be absorbed by the increased exports of other articles from America, whilst the remainder would be profitably transferred to other channels of industry.

From Norway, the best deals are those of Christiania and Frederickstadt; but their superior character has been injured by the operation of the British tariff, which compels the manufacturer, whatever be the quality of the log, to cut them all of one thickness. The other principal ports for this trade are Langesund, Porsgrund, Laurvig, Krageroe, and Drammen. Some of the largest establishments of saw-mills in the kingdom are supplied with trees from the forests around the Snaasen Vand. A small quantity of deals used to come from Tonsberg, and occasionally there was a considerable supply from Frederickshall and Moss; but at several of these places, the trade, in consequence of the high duties, has been greatly diminished or entirely annihilated. Of the white lowland deals of Norway in general, it has been alleged that they resemble in quality the white spruce deals of America, having the same disposition to warp and rend in drying. The best Swedish are reckoned those that come from Stockholm and Gefle; a considerable quantity, chiefly white, has of late been shipped from Gottenborg; but they are hard and fibrous, and, when cut, the refuse appears torn into strings instead of sawdust.

From a statement of British imports, published in 1835, the injurious effects of the heavy discriminating duties on the Baltic trade is made very apparent. In 1800, the quantity of fir timber, eight inches square and upwards, brought from Sweden, was 911 loads, and from Norway 38,468; in 1807, the former had increased to 10,455, and the latter to 52,898; in 1810, the respective amounts were 27,991, and 75,091. From that period there was a gradual falling off; and in the three years ending with 1834, the quantities of Swedish fir timber were 2339, 441, and 297 loads; and of Norwegian, 17,911, 23,690, and 21,081. During the period referred to, the imports of the same description from the North American colonies had risen from 1761 loads in 1800, to 380,580 in 1834. A similar declension is observable in the article of deals and deal ends; in 1810 the imports from Sweden were 15,661 cargoes, and from Norway 57,041; next

year they fell to 7353 and 50,734; and in 1834, to 3591 and 6613. The demand for battens and batten ends, which can be applied to a variety of common uses, has caused less fluctuation in this department of the trade. In 1810 the cargoes were 572 from Sweden, and 4572 from Norway; in 1830 they were 1298 and 5900; and in 1834 the former had risen to 2103, and the latter had fallen only to 5886. During the first years of the union Norway exported annually from 120,000 to 160,000 *last* of deals; during the last six years the exportation has never been less than 170,000; and the average of the three last years has been 214,000.

While the importation of Baltic timber into England has decreased, so also has the exportation of British goods to those kingdoms diminished; and this circumstance has occasioned recent negotiations for the reduction of the discriminating duties, on such terms as would be advantageous to both countries. So long as the present system continues, there can be no wonder that our commerce with Scandinavia should decline. No European state has so many facilities for carrying on an advantageous trade with the North as Great Britain. She has a surplus of nearly all the products and manufactures, of which the inhabitants of those regions stand most in need; whilst they, on the other hand, can supply many of which she is comparatively destitute; and hence, were it not for the impediments of artificial obstacles and custom-house regulations, a flourishing and profitable traffic would no doubt arise out of the gratification of mutual wants and desires.

The fisheries supply an important branch of exportation, and for these pursuits their extensive seas and deep commodious bays afford unlimited opportunities. In the neighbourhood of the Lofoden Isles, more than twenty thousand men find employment, during the months of February and March, in taking herrings and cod. At that season the fish set in from the ocean, and settle on the West Fiord banks, which run from three to ten miles out into the water, at a depth of from sixty to eighty fathoms. Such swarms collect for depositing

their spawn, attracted by the shelter, or perhaps some special circumstances in the temperature, that it is said a deep-sea lead is frequently interrupted in its descent to the bottom through these shoals (or *fiskebjerg*, mountains of fish, as they are called), which are found in layers one over the other several yards in thickness. From North Cape to Bergen, all the fishermen who have the means assemble at the different stations in January. Every twenty or thirty of these companies have a yacht or large tender to bring out their provisions, nets, and lines, and to carry their produce to the market. Their operations are regulated by statutes contained in several ancient codes, and more lately by that of the 4th August 1827. These laws prescribe the order and limits to be observed in fixing the stations, the time for placing and removing the nets, and also for preparing, salting, and drying the fish. Nets, and long lines of 120 hooks at five feet distance are used, but there is a difference of opinion which of the two outfits is the more advantageous. The period when the season ends is appointed by law on the 12th of June, when Lofoden and its busy shores become deserted and desolate. The fish are prepared in two ways: they are cured as round or stockfish until April; after which they are split, salted, and carried to the coasts above Trondheim, or other places, where there are large flat rocky mountains, with a southern aspect, upon which they are spread, and exposed to the sun to dry. This preparation is called klip-fish, and in fine seasons is completed in three or four weeks. The livers are used for oil, one barrel of which may be the produce of from 200 to 500 fish, according to their fatness.

The number taken is immense. In a medium year, (1827) there were 2916 boats employed in 83 different stations, accompanied by 124 yachts, with 15,324 men. The produce was 16,456,620 fish, which would be about 8800 tons dried; there were also 21,530 barrels of cod-oil, and 6000 of cod roe. Sir A. Brooke reckoned the quantity taken in a year at 700,000, worth about £120,000; but other writers value them at £250,000, or even £300,000. An English lobster company was established some years

ago on the west coast, and twice or thrice a-week their packets sailed from Christiansand for London. In 1830, the number of these animals exported was 1,196,904 ; of roes, 21,682 barrels ; of dried fish, 425,789 cwts. ; and of salted 300,218 barrels. The herring-fishery is also an important and thriving branch of industry. In 1819, the exports were 240,000 tons ; but in 1835, which was more productive than the five or six preceding years, they amounted to 536,000,—an increase the more remarkable, considering that the population and the internal consumption had both been augmented during that period.

SECTION VII.—NAVAL AND MILITARY RESOURCES.

As naval and military powers, the Baltic kingdoms possess many natural advantages ; but their internal resources are inadequate to give efficiency to their physical capabilities. The total military force of Denmark in 1809 amounted to 107,355 men. In 1819 it was reduced to 38,829, including 47 officers on the general staff, 21 engineers, 4433 artillery, 3302 cavalry, and 31,026 infantry. The contingent troops for the German dominions (Holstein and Lauenburg) is 3600. The navy in 1835 consisted of 6 ships of the line, 6 frigates, 4 corvettes, 5 brigs, and 40 gun-boats. In time of war, government can call out nearly 1000 merchant decked-vessels, manned by 7000 or 8000 experienced seamen.

The Swedish marine is much more formidable ; in 1833 it consisted of 11 men of war, of 84 and 74 guns ; 8 frigates, 4 corvettes, 6 brigs, and a flotilla of small schooners, yachts, and gun-boats, amounting to 290. The equipment of the whole employs 24,119 men, including officers. Norway has not one ship of the line ; its naval strength is composed of brigs, schooners, sloops, and gun-boats, to the extent of 130 or 140 bottoms, great and small, served by about 6000 men. The organization of the Swedish military force is peculiar ; it is formed of three distinct parts. The army *Indelta*, consisting of horse and foot soldiers, is a kind of peasant yeomanry supported by the soil to which they are attached. When not engaged in war, they cultivate their land, or

are employed by government in constructing roads and fortifications, draining marshes, digging canals, or executing other works of public utility. In this manner, 36,000 excellent and well disciplined men are maintained at a very economical rate, as they receive no pay except when in active campaign. The *Vaerfvade* constitute a permanent branch of the service, such as the guards, the artillery, and troops in garrison, who are drawn or recruited from other regiments by voluntary enrolment. The *Beværing* are a sort of Landwehr, or local militia, entirely composed of infantry, equipped at the expense of government, and liable at all times to be called out in defence of the country.

In 1818 the returns of the Norwegian army gave 1288 artillery, 1070 cavalry, 9642 infantry, 505 officers, and 1790 subalterns. Of these troops, 2000 were in garrison, and there were three battalions of snow-skaters (*skielobere*), a sort of rifle corps, who move with great rapidity, and are often serviceable in forwarding intelligence from one part of the country to another.*

The total amount of the national force, as given in the statistical returns for 1833, including 23,160 seamen, was 166,400 men; the army *Indelta* consisted of 33,414; the militia, 95,518; guards, 7398; extra troops which might be added in the time of war 3387; officers, 1650; and subalterns, 1870.

The army and navy estimates are on a scale of laudable economy. In 1831 the former cost 5,730,076 rix-dollars, and the latter 1,201,527.

Nothing evinces more decisively the flourishing condition of those kingdoms than the rapid increase of popu-

* The corps of the skating soldiers is said to be now discontinued. Their uniform was green; and their arms a rifle, and a pole or *skiestav*, seven feet in length, shod with an iron spike; the use of which was to moderate their speed, and enable them to preserve their balance when descending steep declivities. The speed at which they moved was very remarkable; and it is recorded that when Charles XII. was shot, some *skielobere*, who were in the army, volunteered to skate to Trondheim, a distance of more than 400 English miles, which they reached twelve hours before the messenger who had been despatched at the same time, and who had used the utmost possible expedition.

lation. In 1769, according to Catteau, the inhabitants of Denmark, exclusive of its foreign dependencies, amounted to 1,243,031, and those of Norway to 723,141. By the census taken at the close of 1828, the entire population of the kingdom, notwithstanding the great loss of territory in 1814, was rated at 1,992,729 ; and it has now increased to 2,025,285. In 1797 Copenhagen contained 83,161 souls ; and at present they are reckoned at 119,292.

In 1751, without including Finland, the number of inhabitants in Sweden was estimated at 1,785,727 ; in 1780 it was 2,118,181 ; in 1800 it had risen to 2,347,308 ; and in 1830 to 2,871,252. Stockholm, in 1833, contained about 81,000 inhabitants ; and Gottenborg, 28,758.

Norway, according to the census of 1825, contained 1,051,318 inhabitants, which is at the rate of 63 for every square league, and exhibits an increase of 164,662 since 1815. In 1836 the population was 1,200,000, being an addition of nearly 150,000 during the preceding ten years. The most populous town in the kingdom is Bergen, which contains 22,839 inhabitants ; Christiania has only 23,121 ; and Trondheim, 12,731.

From the activity that pervades the operative classes, and the impulse communicated to every branch of industry by the patriotic exertions of the government, there is every reason to conclude that the national resources will multiply in the same proportion. Improvements are zealously adopted in those arts and sciences that tend to facilitate the intercourse or augment the comforts of society. Under the present system of growing prosperity, Scandinavia promises to realize, at no remote date, all that the historians of antiquity have fabled of the Baltic regions, as the "Great Northern Hive," the "Storehouse of Nations ;" but with this difference, that Europe dreads no second irruption of those barbarians who, under the names of Goths, Cimbrians, and Sea-kings, issued in countless swarms from the neighbourhood of the polar circle, to find settlements for their redundant multitudes by displacing the peaceful inhabitants of other countries.

CHAPTER VIII.

Natural History.

GEOLOGY—Mountains—Period of Elevation—Composition—Primitive Rocks—Gneiss—Mica-slate—Granite—Diallage—Transition—Christiania—Zircøn Syenite—Kinnekulle—Alum-slate—Porphyry—Limestone—Organic Remains—Secondary Formations—Quartz Rocks of Alten—Scania—Coal—Lias—Chalk—Recent Deposites—Proofs of the Elevation of the Land—Oasar—Temperature of the Earth—Earthquakes—Contrast of Denmark and Sweden—Red Sandstone—Chalk—Gypsum—Tertiary Deposites—Section at Stevensklint—Alluvium—**MINES**—Importance and Distribution—Gold—Silver—Kongsberg—Sala—Copper—Roraas—Falun—Iron—Arendal—Bog-iron Ore—Gellivara—Dannemora—Wermeland—Taberg Mountain—Produce of Sweden—Cobalt—**BOTANY**—Comparison with that of Britain—Denmark—Northern Limit of Plants—Sweden, Region of the Beech—Vegetation of Scania and Smaland—Region of the Oak—Of the Maple—Jamtland—Bothnia—Region of the Birch—Alpine Vegetation—Plants of Gothland and Oland—Norway—Vegetation near Christiania—Trondheim and Alten—Comparative View of Natural Families—**ZOOLOGY**—Number of Animals—Migrations—Domestic Animals—Horse—Cow—Wild Animals—Bear—Glutton—Wolf—Fox—Lynx—Lemming—Elk—Rein-deer—**BIRDS**—Eagles—Owls—Passerine Birds—Capercaillie—Ripa—Grallatorial Birds—Water-fowl—**ICHTHYOLOGY**—Fresh-water Fish—Salmon Fisheries—Salt-water Fish—Herrings—Flat-fish—Mackerel—**INSECTS**—Ants—Mosquitos.

To the lovers of Natural History, Scandinavia must ever remain classic ground, consecrated by the labours of many of the most illustrious cultivators of that interesting field of study. The writings of Linnæus gave an impulse and life to the science which diffused them-

selves throughout the whole civilized world; whilst the precision and convenience of his systematic arrangements rendered every discovery available for the advancement of knowledge. His disciples have not failed to support the rank to which he raised their country in this department, and many of them are justly considered amongst its greatest benefactors. Their native land also attracted a considerable share of attention, so that from their works a very perfect knowledge of the natural history of Scandinavia may be obtained.

SECTION I.—GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.

The chain of mountains now generally known as the Norrska Fjellen or Norway Range, forms the most remarkable feature in the physical geography of Scandinavia, and impresses its peculiar character on the whole peninsula. Following in general the line of the western coast, to which its most precipitous and rugged escarpments are presented, it traverses the whole country, from Cape Lindesnæs to Nordkyn, the most northern point of continental Europe, and rises in some places to a very considerable height. These mountains, though separated by deep valleys and ravines into numerous isolated groups, possess sufficient connexion and similarity of composition to justify us in viewing them as one system. Considered more closely, they assume two different directions, whose combinations determine in a great measure the form of the coast and the appearance of the country. The first of these is seen in the Dovrefield, which, containing the highest points, and forming by far the best connected portion of the chain, runs north-east or east-north-east, between Trondheim and Christiania, cutting the meridian of the latter under an angle of 60° . It is also marked by the disposition of the Lofoden Islands, and by the formation of the fiords and lakes around Trondheim. The other direction is that of the Koelen Mountains, which, departing from the north-eastern extremity of the Dovrefield, separate Norway from Sweden, and after branching out among the different bays of Finmark, terminate in the icy sea by the Sverholt, between the

Porsanger Fiord and the Laxe Fiord, and by the Nordkyn, between this last and the Tana Fiord. The Hardangerfield or Thulien Mountains, from the Dovrefield to the south-western angle of Norway, does not follow altogether the same direction with the above, approaching rather more to the meridian; but as the difference is only a few degrees, it may be viewed as its continuation.

The direction of these mountains from north-north-east to south-south-west, being almost identical with that of the Alps of Savoy and Dauphiny, M. Elie de Beaumont, in his very ingenious memoir on the Elevation of Mountains, has, from this circumstance, been led to refer their appearance to the same epoch, or to a period more recent than the deposition of some of the latter tertiary strata. This opinion, however, the author does not consider as fully established; and as we shall have occasion to notice afterwards some of those facts on which it rests, we shall take the opportunity of again referring to it.*

This lofty range of mountains, forming the nucleus of the whole peninsula, is composed of primitive and transition rocks, of which the first greatly predominate. The oldest, and at the same time the most widely distributed, of these is gneiss; granite, contrary to what was once the common opinion, being rare, and seldom appearing on the surface.† Von Buch thinks that he could distinguish two deposits of gneiss in Norway, an older and a newer, separated from each other by mica-slate. The newer is characterized by containing numerous beds of this latter rock which is not found in the other, and forms many of the islands along the Norwegian coast.‡ The composition of both is extremely various; in some places, as at Hogdal, it has very much the appearance of granite, whilst in others at no great distance it is distinctly slaty, and well characterized.§ At Bergen, Cassness, and

* *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*, tome xviii. (1829) p. 407, &c.

+ Von Buch's *Travels through Norway and Lapland* (London, 1818), p. 21.

‡ Buch's *Travels*, p. 132.

§ Buch's *Travels*, p. 24. Thomson's *Travels in Sweden* (London, 1813), p. 44.

the island of Brennøe, in Norway, and for many miles round Hudiksvall, in Sweden, it contains numerous garnets, often of a large size, which, though in general confined to mica-slate, seem here to form an essential constituent of the gneiss. There is also a variety found at Rostenberg in Norway, and near Wenersborg in Sweden, in which large angular fragments of gneiss, of a different appearance and texture from the surrounding mass, are embedded. This fact, and that of the mica-slate at Toffle, also containing similar fragments, seem to prove that these strata have been formed from the destruction of previously existing rocks of the same class.*

In the gneiss are often enclosed beds of fine white granular marble or limestone, and also of hornblende. The most important of these subordinate strata, however, are the immense masses of iron ore found in various parts of this formation. It is from these that almost all the iron manufactured in Sweden is derived, and we shall therefore notice them more fully in our account of the mines.

The next primitive rock is mica-slate, which, though very extensively distributed, is, on the whole, subordinate to the gneiss, with which it is frequently interstratified. It forms many of the islands on the coast of Norway, and of the mountains in the interior. Snæhätten, one of the loftiest, is described by Esmark, who, in 1797, ascended its summit, formerly accounted inaccessible, as composed of this rock. Associated with it are numerous strata of limestone, which at Lenvig assumes the character of dolomite; and along with this are sometimes beds of beautiful fibrous tremolite, covered at Klöwen by a dark stratum of massive garnet, strongly magnetic, and possessing polarity.

Besides these primitive formations, we also find in Scandinavia strata of quartz, often of great thickness and extent; clay-slate, generally of a lighter colour than that belonging to the transition formation; chlorite-slate, and hornblende-slate. These are, however, altogether

* Buch's Travels, pp. 164, 201, 396, 94, 407.

inferior to the two former, of which, in many cases, they seem merely accidental varieties.*

These primitive stratified rocks are very widely distributed in the peninsula of Scandinavia. They have been traced from the Naze of Norway and the south of Sweden, along the coast of the Baltic and North Sea, to the head of the Bothnian Gulf and the island of Mageroe, and throughout the whole interior of the country. Even where they are hid by the newer formations, the dip and position of the strata would lead us to conclude that they form the foundation on which these latter repose. In Sweden, particularly at a distance from the central chain, the strata are often nearly horizontal, as in some parts of Gothland and the south; but in Norway, as we approach the mountains, they are commonly very highly inclined, and dip towards various points, with a direction from north to south or north-north-east to south-south-west, parallel to the general course of the mountains. The great inclination of these rocks on the coast of Norway is shown by the precipitous nature of the beach, only a very few places of which are level; whilst the water close to the shore has often a depth of 400 fathoms.†

Along with these stratified rocks, others of an igneous origin, which are usually referred to the primitive formations, occur in many places. Granite, though, as we have already observed, rather scarce, is found underlying and elevating the strata, intersecting them in the form of veins, and placed above them. This last was formerly looked upon as a very curious circumstance, being opposed to the prevalent opinion, that in all cases granite was older than gneiss or clay-slate, on which it was found reposing in the Skullaberg in Sweden, and at Kielvig in Norway.‡ The latter place is also remarkable for the diallage rocks, which are there associated with the primitive gneiss, clay-slate, and granite. This rock, the

* Buch's Travels, pp. 229, 232, &c.

† Humboldt, *Essai sur le Gisement des Roches* (Paris, 1826), p. 57. Hassel, p. 448.

‡ Buch's Travels, pp. 393, 280, 283.

gabbro of the Italian geologists, is a mixture of dark brown diallage and felspar, and has been also observed near Bergen and other parts in the south of Norway. At Kielvig it rests on granite above clay-slate, and at Bergen either on mica-slate or clay-slate. It is now considered as one of the unstratified rocks, and as nearly allied to the trap family, which it resembles in its fragments assuming a rounded form when exposed to the influence of the weather.* Other Plutonic rocks similar to greenstone, porphyry, and secondary trap, occur associated with the primitive formations. To these it is probable we ought to refer those beds of hornblende mentioned in our account of the gneiss and mica-slate deposits, amongst which they would seem to have been intruded during some former convulsion of the globe.†

Tracts of country belonging to the transition formation occur in many parts both of Norway and Sweden. To the north of the Dovrefield, however, they are developed only in a small degree, and appear almost like wedges inserted into the valleys formed by the primitive rocks. This is the case at Trondheim, where the transition clay-slate and greywacke, when compared with the surrounding gneiss, resemble mere cabinet masses.‡ The same formation also at Christiania, though the most extensive deposite in Norway, is enclosed on both sides by gneiss and mica-slate. The stratified rocks here are sandstone, greywacke, sometimes compact, resembling clay-slate, at others coarse, with angular fragments embedded in it; black orthoceratite limestone and clay-slate, the latter of which, where it comes into contact with porphyry or other Plutonic masses, is changed into flinty-slate. The unstratified rocks united with these are granite, porphyry sometimes assuming the form of greenstone or basalt, and a species of syenite celebrated for containing numerous crystals of the gem called zircon, of a brown or mountain-green colour. This is often associated with ; and

* Buch's Travels, p. 281.

† Thomson's Travels, pp. 301, 399.

‡ Buch's Travels, p. 122.

in this rock is also found the *elaolite*, a mineral rarely met with in other countries. This deposit covers the whole western coast of the Fiord of Christiania from Skeen, and running northward through the interior of the province of Aggershuus, according to Von Buch, joins the corresponding Swedish formations in the provinces of Dalecarlia, Herjeadalen, and Jamtland.*

Sweden contains a greater extent of country belonging to this geological epoch than her sister kingdom. It commences in the south in the provinces of Scania and Gothland, where, on the shore of the Wener lake, we find the series fully developed. In this place the transition rocks resting on gneiss, which forms the basis of the whole surrounding country in strata nearly horizontal, rise up into several hills. The most remarkable of these, Kinnekulle, noticed by Linnæus as a striking example of the trap-rocks, though only elevated about 920 feet above the sea, is often visited for the extensive view.

This hill, and most of those in its vicinity closely resemble it, consists of strata of sandstone, with impressions probably of vegetables, alum-slate, containing remains of trilobites, orthoceratite limestone, slate-clay, in which are found the graptolites of Linnæus, with a few vegetables, and a fine-grained greenstone forming the summit of the hill. The greenstone has in some places the appearance of pillars, and is a compound of felspar, hornblende, and quartz; the slate is used as an ore of alum by a manufactory established at Hellekisa, in the neighbourhood; and as it contains from fourteen to sixteen per cent. of combustible matter, it is employed as fuel both for preparing alum and in burning lime.† This formation extends northward into Nerike, where the gneiss is covered by beds of sandstone, alum-slate, and limestone, and also to Dalecarlia and Jamtland. In these provinces the stratified rocks are gray or pale red sandstone, limestone, sometimes gray, at others reddish-

* Buch's Travels, pp. 45-68, 74, 81, 411, 416. Clarke's Travels, (4to, London, 1823), vol. vi. p. 44.

† Brongniart, *Annal. des Scien. Nat.* tome xiv. p. 21. Forsell, *Statistik*, p. 5.

brown or yellow; clay-slate and marl-slate; with these the following unstratified rocks are associated in veins or beds:—transition porphyry, porphyry breccia, and greenstone. The porphyry is quarried at Elfvedal, and manufactured into vases and other ornamental articles, which are sold in Stockholm, and found in some of the first cabinets in Europe. The basis is felspar, with crystals of this mineral or quartz; and when polished, it possesses great beauty and durability.* Still farther to the north, at the head of the Bothnian Gulf, near Tornea, transition clay-slate and black compact limestone appear,

This formation also includes the islands of Bornholm, Gothland, and Oland, of which the dark red marble with green veins was once highly valued for its beauty, and largely exported to other countries. This limestone is also quarried at Kolmorden in East Gothland, where it is of a beautiful green and white, and forms not only a valuable material for building, but is also converted into various ornamental articles.†

These stratified rocks, especially the limestone, abound in various organic remains, characteristic of the transition period. Of these, the orthoceratite, which was one of the earliest inhabitants of the earth, and is almost confined to the older strata, is so numerous in the limestone deposits of Oland, Scania, Gothland, and Dalecarlia, as to have conferred on them its name. Along with this are numerous species of terebratulites, of which several are peculiar to this rock, not being found in those either above or below. The encrinite limestone of Gothland, besides numerous remains of corals and molluscous animals, especially bivalves, is distinguished by twenty-four species of terebratulites found in it alone.‡

* Thomson's Travels, pp. 61, 207-214. Buch's Travels, p. 74, 122. Hassel, p. 412.

† Buch's Travels, p. 370. Hassel, p. 380. Buckland's Bridge-water Treatise on Geology, vol. i. p. 364. Forsell, Statistik, p. 7.

‡ Buch's Travels, p. 416. Buckland's Geology, vol. i. pp. 63, 363. Dalman on the Terebratulites of Sweden, Ferrussac's Bulletin, tome xxii. p. 457.

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Secondary formations are far less widely distributed in Scandinavia than the two more ancient classes. In Norway, the quartz-rocks in the neighbourhood of Alten-gaard probably belong to this period. They are described by Von Buch as a quartz sandstone, composed of dark smoke-grey grains in a basis of pure quartz. It lies on a blackish grey slate, and is sometimes associated with limestone and a fine granular diadlage rock. These deposits extend a considerable distance into the interior, along the banks of the river Alten; but from the strata being almost horizontal, and the nature of the country, their contents cannot be properly investigated; and hence considerable doubts exist whether they belong to this or the former class of rocks.*

It is chiefly in the southern extremity of Sweden, forming the province of Scania, that we perceive any traces of these deposits. Here the gneiss forms a chain of low hills, running from north-west to south-east, on which several secondary rocks repose, either immediately or with the transition formation interposed. Round Helsingborg on the Sound there is a small coal-district, said to stretch also under the sea. It contains two beds of coal covered by sandstone, with variations of slate-clay and shale, over which there are several alternating layers of sand and clay. The lower stratum of coal, placed at a depth of from forty to fifty fathoms, is four feet thick; the upper at twenty-seven to thirty-three fathoms, is only one foot. It is wrought at Hoganas, but, though of good quality, with very little success; the Swedes preferring wood or turf for fuel even in its immediate neighbourhood. In 1816, 153,056 sch. lbs., or 20,407 tons English, were dug here, of which 75,536, or nearly a half, were exported, and in 1832 it produced 155,323 sch. lbs. or 20,710 tons, worth about £13,000, or 12s. 6d. per ton; but it is uncertain if it can be continued with any profit. The only other coal wrought is in the island of Bornholm, where it is situated above the transition rocks. Remains of marine plants and

* Von Buch's Travels, pp. 251, 334.

shales are found in the coal and associated beds, and it is thought probable that they belong to the Lias.*

This formation also occurs in the island of Gothland, where an oolitic limestone of a yellowish white colour forms the isthmus that joins the southern peninsula to the rest of the island. It never exceeds fifteen or twenty feet in thickness, and contains the characteristic oolite fossils. It rests on a sandstone above the encrinite limestone, and is covered by a conglomerate of sand and marl; both possessing many remains common to the limestone.† To the west of Hoer, in Scania, there is a chain of low hills composed of a slightly ferruginous sandstone, or arkose, being a mixture of quartz and felspar. From this only remains found in it,—those of land vegetables,—geologists have referred it to the wealden, or green sand formation. These plants are some species of ferns, two new genera (the *Nilsonia* and *Pterophyllum*) of Cycadeæ, very different from those now existing; several monocotyledonous plants similar to the bananas; and many undefined dicotyledons.‡

The chalk deposits, including the green sand, occur in Scania, where they extend from Cape Kulloberg to Degerberga and Magleham, thus traversing almost the whole province. In general they repose on the gneiss, more rarely on greywacke, and in one place only, at Limhamn, they seem to cover the oolite strata. In the north, where they extend to Carlshamn and Morbg in Bleking, the deposits are very thick, and contain numerous fossils. They are the upper green sand and the chalk marl, of a white or greyish white colour, and more or less mixed with flint-sand, which at Rehus, and near the lake Yngsjoe, apparently constitutes the whole rock. In the south, all the chalk strata from the green sand to the white chalk, with flints, occur, but always different from those of the north. It is mostly seen near the shores of the Baltic, as at Ingelstorp,

* Forsell, *Statistik*, pp. 4, 127. Hassel, pp. 87, 411.

† Hisinger, *Köngl. Vetenskaps; Academiens Handlingar* (1826), p. 311.

‡ Brongniart, *Annal. des Scien. Nat.* tome iv. p. 200-219.

Hammar, Kopinge, and Ostra Torp; but traces of it are also found in the interior of the province. Near Hammar and Kasseberga, the chalk is covered by immense hills of sand, containing fossil bituminous wood, which M. Nilsson thinks also form a part of this formation; every where besides it is buried below masses of clay, sand, and stones. It thus seldom appears on the surface, unless on the banks of rivers and lakes, or where it is quarried for economical purposes. Its organic remains are, the scales, teeth, and bones of fishes; numerous shells, of which the bivalves predominate; as terebratulites, 16 sp., belemnites, ostrea, 12 sp., pecten, 16 sp., &c.*

The recent formations found covering these older rocks have of late attracted much attention, from their connexion with the question of the present gradual elevation of the peninsula. Celsius, a Swedish philosopher, more than a hundred years ago expressed the opinion that the whole of Scandinavia was slowly rising at about forty inches in a century. Von Buch again called attention to this in 1807, by the beds of recent shells which he pointed out on various parts of the Norwegian and Swedish coasts. One of these near Steenkiar, in some places four or five hundred feet above the sea, and six miles from the shore, has been traced for a great distance along the Trondheim Fiord. Similar beds occur along the Glommen and Drammen, extending on the latter fourteen miles; and they have also been seen at Tromsøe, Hundholm, Luroe, and other places.† As these beds are chiefly found in the interior of the fiords, where they are protected from the wasting effects of the sea, it is probable that they were once far more extensive. In Sweden, such deposits are very numerous, and, from the more gradual declivity of the ground, cover a larger space. On the western coast at Uddevalla, M. Brongniart observed strata of recent shells 216 feet above the sea, with the balanè even yet at-

* Nilsson, *Petrificata Suecana formationis cretaceæ* (Lund, 1827.).

† Buch's *Travels*, pp. 122, 150, 216. Laing's *Residence*, p. 334.

tached to the gneiss rocks. These facts have been confirmed by Professor Lyell, who, at Kured, two miles north, and the same distance from the sea, found the modern deposits forming a meadow, consisting of thin strata of broken and entire shells. On the eastern coast he also perceived marks of the rise of the land near Calmar, at Stockholm, Upsala, Oregrund, Gefle, &c., and from information he received, the same takes place at Sundsvall and Hernosand. The marks made at the level of the sea, in 1820, on many parts of the coast were also found by him raised above the water. In cutting the canal at Södertelge, sixteen miles south-west from Stockholm, several vessels with wooden pegs, and a hut containing firewood, and stones placed for a hearth, were discovered at a depth of sixty-four feet. The floor of the hut was on a level with the sea, and the mass covering it was stratified, and contained shells of species presently found in the Baltic.*

From these facts, and others similar, the diminution of water on the Swedish coast is now fully established. It seems greatest in the Bothnian Gulf, where it amounts to about four feet in a century, from thence it diminishes towards Scania, where it is imperceptible, but is again visible in Halland, and in Bohus-län is equal to that on the coast opposite. Some facts, however, would lead us to believe that the rate of elevation even at the same place is by no means constant, and that it is often reversed, the sea for a period gaining on the land.†

Connected with this are also those ridges of sand found extending many miles in length, and from 50 to 100

* Lyell, London Philosophical Society's Trans. for 1835, p. 1-38.

† Forcell, Statistik, p. 13. Hermelin's Minerographien von Lapp-land, pp. 126, 132, 138. From a recent communication of Professor Nilsson to Mr Lyell, it appears that the axis of least movement is situated north of the extremity of the peninsula, the south of which is at present sinking. He mentions that a large stone near Trelleborg, marked by Linnæus in 1749, is now 100 feet nearer the shore than in his time. The streets in Malmo and many other towns are also below high water mark, and some of them even inferior to the lowest tide, whilst there is evidence that others have been artificially raised eight feet above their original level.—Lyell's Address to the Geol. Soc. Lond. and Edin. Phil. Mag. vol. x. p. 401.

feet high, called *oasar* or *sandoasar* by the Swedish geographers. These are found in Upland, Westmannland, Nerike, and traces of them in Smaland. Their general direction is north-north-east to south-south-west, and they are often so level on the top that the public roads are formed on them. Various opinions have been entertained concerning their origin, some supposing them to be composed of the debris formed during the elevation of the great Norway range, carried south by the wave occasioned during that convulsion. But the distinctness of their stratification, and the beds of shells found in them, seem inconsistent with any sudden or violent origin, and prove that they give no support to the theory of the immediate elevation of that chain of mountains which is supposed to have dispersed them, as well as the numerous fragments of Scandinavian rocks found in all the countries to the south. Professor Lyell's opinion is, that they are "ancient banks of sand and shingle, which have been thrown down at the bottom of the Gulf of Bothnia, in lines parallel to the ancient coast, during the successive rise of the land. I conceive," he remarks, "that they may have been formed in those tracts where a marine current, flowing as now, during the spring, when the ice and snow melt, from north to south, came in contact with flooded rivers rushing from the continent, or from the west, charged with gravel, sand, and mud."* This view is confirmed by those masses of stone of immense bulk, and hollowed out so as to resemble vessels, which are found on the tops of hills at different elevations. One of these Giant-pots (*Riesentöpfe*), as they are called, six feet in diameter and 250 feet above the sea, has been seen at Nortorp in Mariestadts-län, and others are mentioned at 400 and 500 feet. According to Colonel Forsell, these are the gradual effect of water, the waves on the coast of Bohus-län forming them at the present day, where also some of them are above its present level.†

* Lyell, Phil. Trans. pp. 15, 16.

† Brongniart, *Annal. des Scien. Nat.* tome xiv. p. 1-21. Forsell, *Statistik*, p. 14.

In many countries the temperature increases as we descend into the earth. But in Scandinavia no change takes place ; at least in the mines of Falun, 1278 feet in depth, no rise has been observed in the thermometer. Neither are there any hot springs in it, and the few earthquakes that have been felt were very weak. M. Kielhau, however, has endeavoured to connect the rise of the land with this last phenomenon, and to show that it is the sum of the effects of numerous shocks very often imperceptible.*

DENMARK, in its physical geography and geological character, offers a remarkable contrast to the Scandinavian peninsula. The snow-clad summits of the latter are replaced by low marshy plains and scarcely perceptible ridges, the most elevated point in the kingdom, the Himmelsberg, being only 1000 feet, or about an eighth of the height of Snæhatta. The numerous rivers as well as the immense lakes have all disappeared ; that of Ploen in Holstein, the largest in the country, being only ten miles in circumference. Instead of the bold precipitous coast of Norway and Sweden, we see only a sandy beach, scarcely rising above the tide, and in many places with difficulty defended from the encroaching ocean by the feeble labours of man. In their internal constitution, also, the contrast is equally strong,—the old primitive and transition rocks, elevated by the crystalline granites and syenites, every where changed for the newer secondary and tertiary formations, covered in general by still more recent alluvial deposits.

Our knowledge of the geology of Denmark is far from being so complete as that of the two former kingdoms. The unbroken nature of the country, and the thick mass of alluvial matter, almost every where spread over the surface, render it difficult to obtain any acquaintance with the inferior beds. Hence, it is only from a few natural sections on the shore, or from artificial excavations, that our information is derived.

*Forsell, p. 11. Boué, Guide du Géologue-Voyageur (Paris, 1836), tome ii. p. 91.

In Denmark Proper, the new red sandstone is the oldest rock that has yet been observed. It is found in the island of Fierland, in the Liim Fiord, and a rock (the gres bigarre, or keuper) of this group composes most of the island of Heligoland. Sandy Island near this last is formed of lias deposits, covered by chalk, which has also been observed in contact with the sandstone in Heligoland. This rock, a continuation of that of England, Germany, and the north of Europe, is the most common of the Danish secondary strata. It is found in Zealand, round Faxoe and Prestoe; and in all the eastern part of the island of Moen. It is also extensively distributed in Jutland, as at Alstrup on the Liim Fiord in Viborg, at Moenstadt, and Dagbjerg, the highest hill in the province, near Guddamlund, and around Aarhus. From this it extends southward into Holstein and the neighbourhood of Lubeck. In this formation is situated the gypsum mountain of Segeberg, elevated 200 feet above the plain. It is principally composed of the mineral just named, which in general is white, sometimes tinged with yellow or red, and often greyish white or blackish grey, and contains layers of stinkstone and crystals of boracite. The gypsum and chalk are quarried to a considerable extent.*

Tertiary deposits also frequently occur in the Danish provinces, both in the islands and on the mainland. To this period we ought probably to refer the fragmentary chalk-rocks (*craie régénérée*) found in several parts of Zealand, and which seem formed from the destruction of the true chalk-strata. A deposit of blue clay is found along the coast of the Baltic, extending into Germany, and separated in Denmark from the alluvial sands by a line drawn from Ratzeburg to Segeberg, Westensee, Hall, Flensburg, and Apenrade.† But the most interesting section of the tertiary deposits is that seen in the cliff at Stevnsklint, in Zealand, described by Dr Forchhammer. The chalk with flints is here

* Bulletin Universel, tome xxii. p. 372. Von Buch's Travels, p. 4.

† Bulletin Universel, tome xx. p. 223.

covered by a thin bed of bituminous clay, containing sharks' teeth, and a few other fossils; on this rests a bed of limestone, from three feet to a few inches thick, with remains of various shells, corals, and fishes' teeth; and above all, is another limestone, thirty feet thick, almost entirely composed of fragments of corals, and divided by curved beds of corneous flint. Its organic remains are mostly those characteristic of the chalk, amongst which the *Ananchytes ovata* often composes nearly the whole rock.*

These secondary and tertiary formations are throughout the Danish provinces almost always covered by a thick mass of diluvium and alluvium, consisting of clay, sand, and gravel, and often reaching to an unknown depth. North of the Liim Fiord, in Vendsyssel and Hanherred, it extends through the whole district, the chalk seldom appearing on the surface. The lower portions of it here are of a dark blue plastic marly clay, containing the remains of numerous plants and animals which still exist in the northern ocean, and seem to have been deposited in a tranquil sea. The shells of many molluscous animals, of recent species, found in it, form several beds parallel to each other. This gradually changes into sand in the upper strata, mixed with clay, in which are found some fragments of plants thought to belong to the genus *Ulex*, and in one place boulders of granite, syenite, and other crystalline rocks. This sand is less distinctly stratified than the lower beds, and appears to have been formed in a highly agitated sea. Above this are large masses of peat, often covered or penetrated by sand, and from one to three feet thick.† Similar deposits extend over the whole kingdom; oyster-banks, with numerous shells of the present inhabitants of the North Sea, covering the highest ridges of Jutland, Holstein, and Sleswig, prove that at some former period they were buried beneath the waters. Dr Forchhammer, who has long been engaged with a general geology of Denmark, ascribes the origin

* Brewster's Journal of Science (1828), vol. ix. p. 56.

† Nouvelles Annales des Voyages (Paris, 1834), tome i. p. 118.

of these masses of clay to the destruction of the granites, syenites, and greenstones of the Scandinavian peninsula, which took place at the period when it was elevated from the ocean.*

Scandinavia has long been celebrated for its mineral stores, which, in the Middle Ages, formed the chief source of national wealth. Though of late years the produce of this branch of industry has much diminished, and no longer yields the former revenue, it is still of great importance to the state. This is shown by the number of people who derive their support from the mines, amounting in Sweden alone, in 1795, to 49,057, including women and children; and in 1815, to 14,000 men, whilst at present it is said that not less than 35,000 labourers find employment in them. The diminution of interest, however, which the mines may have sustained as objects of national importance, is more than compensated by what they have gained in the increasing taste for geological science. The conditions necessary for producing the highly crystalline strata composing most of the peninsula, and for elevating these to their present position, seem to have been very favourable to the formation of various mineral species; so that in almost no country has so many or such rare minerals, especially ores or compounds of different metals, been found. Some of these have been already mentioned, and others will be named in our account of the localities where they occur. In Norway, the general distribution of the mines does not offer any thing particular, but in Sweden they chiefly occupy the central provinces of the kingdom, decreasing in number and wealth as we leave this district, more especially towards the south; so that of the whole number 586, no fewer than 361 are contained in Wermeland, Nerike, Westmania, and the adjoining portion of Dalecarlia.†

In Norway there are no gold mines at present in operation, those at Edsvold having been discontinued. In Sweden it is only wrought at Falun, where the produce

* Poggendorff's *Annalen der Physik* (1835), vol. xxxv. p. 355.

† Hassel, p. 263. Daumont, *Voyage en Suède*, tome i. p. 364.

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in 1831 was $4\frac{1}{10}$ lbs., worth 1640 rthlr. or £136. It was also formerly found at Aedelfors in Smaland, in veins of calcareous spar in gneiss, sometimes alone, at others mixed with iron pyrites; but as it did not pay the expense, it is now given up.*

Silver mines are rather more productive in both kingdoms than those in which gold is obtained. In Norway, the only ones are those of Kongsberg, situated to the west of Christiania, in a deep, dark, and remarkably wild valley on the Louven Elf. They occur in mountains of red granite; and the ore, generally native silver, is found in veins of calcareous spar, associated with iron pyrites and oxide of iron. Amongst other minerals occurring here are electrum or argentiferous gold, asbestos in various forms, as well as sulphurets of silver, zinc, and other metals. Masses of pure silver of almost incredible size are sometimes met with; one of these in the royal collection at Copenhagen weighs five cwt., and is valued at 5000 rthlr., and other pieces of 250 to 300 lbs. are mentioned. These mines were anciently very rich, and in their most prosperous state, from 1728 to 1768, about 1,150,000 marks, or £28,750, were annually obtained from them. After that period, the produce diminished so much as not to defray the expense, and in the beginning of this century they were deserted. But the injury thus inflicted on the surrounding country and on the city, induced the Storting, in 1815, again to open them. For some years the gain was so small, that in 1827 and 1830 this body would have sold them for 75,000 dollars, or £16,187, but were prevented by the king; and according to the royal exposé of 1836, they had given to the treasury since 1830, after paying all expenses, 700,000 species dollars, or £153,853.†

The silver mines of Sweden only produce at present about 3000 marks annually, and this with so much expense, that it is proposed to relinquish them. The

* Hassel, p. 265. Thomson's Travels, p. 301. Forsell, Statistik pp. 9. 125.

† Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. p. 47-66. Hassel, pp. 462, 491.

most important are those of Sala, where the precious metal is extracted from an ore of lead. It is found in veins in a bed of primitive limestone, between granite and gneiss, and contains many curious minerals, as the sahlite, named from this place, native antimony, antimonial silver, &c. Their produce is about 2500 lbs. annually, worth 50,000 rix-thalers, or nearly £4000; but formerly it was almost ten times as much. It also produces a small quantity of lead and copper; and according to Daumont, in 1825, 3 lbs. of gold valued at 12,000 rthlr.*

Though the copper mines of Scandinavia have of late experienced a decline similar to that now described, they are still of great national importance both for number and profit. In Norway there are mines of this metal at Roraas, Selbo, Gulbrandsdal, and other places, of which the first, discovered in 1644, are the most extensive and celebrated. The town is situated in a wild and lofty district, surrounded by snow-clad summits. The ore from three pits is a sulphuret, the yellow copper ore, and lies in horizontal beds in mica-slate; its richest portions, from the Storvartz mine, contain eight or nine per cent., the others only three to four. The annual produce varies considerably; in 1804 it was 2909 sch. lbs., or nearly 400 tons English; the next year it was 2620 sch. lbs., or 350 tons, which is about its average produce. The amount raised from the other mines is very inconsiderable, the whole produce of the kingdom being calculated by Hassel at 400 tons.†

Falu-län contains the wealthiest copper mines in all Sweden, more than two-thirds of the whole amount being raised in this province. Those of the chief town are the most remarkable, and are said to have been wrought before the Christian era. The mass of ore here had originally the shape of an inverted cone, and having been

* Forsell, pp. 8, 125. Thomson's Travels, p. 234-240. Daumont, tome i. p. 370. Mr Bald, the celebrated mining engineer, who visited Sweden, informs us that he saw no veins in the Sala mine; the ore was disseminated through the rock in starry specks, and separated from it by pounding.

† Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 606. Hassel, pp. 462, 510.

incautiously wrought, the roof about two centuries ago fell in, so that the excavation has externally the appearance of a huge crater 240 feet deep, and its sides, owing to the exhalations, are diversified with a rich contrast of colours. A similar accident happened in February 1833, when the sides again slipped with a noise heard at several leagues' distance, realizing fears long entertained. There was no loss of life; and though the devastation was immense, the workmen were only waiting the consolidation of the fragments to resume their labours. The external opening is 240 feet deep, beyond which the main shaft extends about 1000 more, with numerous galleries and vaults branching from the sides. In 1719, on opening one of these that had not been used for many years, the body of a young man was found perfectly preserved in the alkaline water of the place, and retaining all the bloom and freshness of life. On being carried to the surface, he was recognised by an old woman as her affianced lover, who had disappeared fifty years before without any one knowing what had become of him. The contrast between the woman with her face covered with the wrinkles of age, and her lover raised from the tomb yet possessing all the traits of youth, was very striking. After being kept for some days, the body was interred with great ceremony.

The ore, copper pyrites in masses, surrounded by serpentine in gneiss, is very poor, seldom yielding more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The produce in 1650 was 20,321 sch. lbs., or 2700 tons English; in 1816 it was 6000 sch. lbs., or 800 tons; and in 1824 that of the whole province was only 4367 sch. lbs., or 580 tons, worth 567,726 rthlr. or £45,400. Besides copper and silver, already mentioned, there is also procured from Falu-län, and mostly from this mine, 625 sch. lbs., or 1660 cwts. of vitriol, and 163 sch. lbs., or about 440 cwts. of sulphur, whose united value is about £1650.*

There are many other copper mines in Sweden, the most important of which are in Nerike at Hakanbo, and

* Forsell, pp. 8, 126. Daumont, tome i. p. 366, &c. Clarke, vol. vi. p. 135-154. Hassel, pp. 265, 416. Thomson, p. 216-229.

Nyakopparberg ; in Nyköpingslän ; in Linköpingslän at Atvedaberg ; in Jamtland at Areskuta, and in Westeraaslan at Ryddarshytta and Bastnäs ; this last is the only place where the cerite, a pale dull red or greyish mineral, first distinguished in 1804 by Hisinger and Berzelius, and containing the metal cerium, is found. The whole copper produced in the kingdom in 1824, was 6111 sch. lbs., or 814 tons, and its value 794,436 rthlr. or £51,777.*

The lavish hand with which nature has distributed ores of iron, the most useful of all the metals, throughout Scandinavia, from Scania to Lapland, is very remarkable. In Norway, the most celebrated mines are those of Arendal, situated on the seashore in Christiansand Amt. The surrounding country is gneiss, with veins of granite, and the ore, magnetic iron ore, along with which are found many beautiful minerals.† There are few or none of the Swedish provinces where it is not found ; but a girdle stretching across the kingdom, and including Wermeland, Dalecarlia, Nerike, Westmanland, and Upland, encloses the richest and most inexhaustible mines. The ore forms beds or masses rather than veins in primitive rocks, and is accompanied by several minerals, as hornblende, asbestos, calc-spar, and sulphurets of other metals. The abundance of iron disseminated in the soil renders it probable that the formation of its ores is still going on in many places ; and in the lakes of Smaland, from which bog-iron ore (*mohrerz*) is taken, it is in a few years again met with in those situations where it seemed quite exhausted.‡

In the extreme north of Sweden, in Lulea Lappmark, is the mountain of Gellivara, 1800 feet high, and consisting altogether of excellent iron ore, yielding seventy or eighty per cent., sufficient to supply the whole world for ages. The ore, owing to some peculiarity in its constitution, is extremely refractory, and before it can be melted must be mixed with that of Uto, an islet near Stockholm. The utility of this mine is much diminished

* Forsell, Statistik, pp. 8, 126. † Hassel, p. 498.

‡ Mr Bald considers the ore as disposed in nearly vertical veins, whose sides are marked apparently by volcanic action.

by its position within the polar circle, in a thinly peopled and almost uninhabitable district, at a great distance from the sea.*

The mine of Dannemora, near Upsala, is situated in a hill slightly elevated above the surrounding country, and almost enclosed by lakes, and the bed of ore is said to extend several leagues round. The mine, originally a silver one, is a vast open chasm, 150 feet broad and 500 deep, and has been wrought during more than 300 years. When melted, it is similar to silver, and yields about sixty per cent. of iron, celebrated throughout all Europe for its excellent quality, attributed by some to the calc-spar with which it is associated. This is called the are-grund, and is mostly sent to England, where it is employed in the manufacture of the finest cutlery.†

The whole province of Wermeland is perforated with iron mines, to which it owes its importance, the soil being thin and unproductive. We shall only mention those of Langbanshytta, wrought for more than 300 years; and Persberg, where the mine is a perpendicular excavation, seventy-five fathoms deep, with a very picturesque and singular appearance. The Taberg mountain in Smaland, consisting of greenstone lying upon gneiss, and 420 feet high, is one of the most curious in Sweden. The trap-rock, which slopes gradually to the north, is quarried as an ore of iron; but, containing only twenty-five per cent., it is too poor to be used alone, and must be mixed with that from other mines before being melted.‡

The quantity of iron produced in Sweden has been increasing of late, though but very slowly; the average of the ten years from 1751 to 1760 was 328,766 sch. lbs., or 43,835 tons English; from 1781 to 1790 it was 409,519 sch. lbs., or 54,602 tons; but in the next period, from 1791 to 1800, it fell to 383,346 sch. lbs., or 51,112 tons; and from 1821 to 1830 it was 399,121 sch. lbs., or 53,216

* Forsell, Statistik, p. 8. Hassel, p. 444. Hermelin, Minnographie von Lappland, pp. 54, 59, &c.

† Thomson's Travels, p. 188.

‡ Clarke's Travels, vol. vi. pp. 101, 109. Thomson's Travels, p. 266. Forsell, Statistik, p. 8.

tons. But some years greatly surpass these averages; thus, in 1815 it was 507,596 sch. lbs., or 67,680 tons; and in 1831, 463,501 sch. lbs., or 61,800 tons English.*

Cobalt is the only other mineral production of Scandinavia which we think it necessary to specify. The most celebrated mines of it are at Modum in Norway, and the produce of that kingdom is given by Hassel at 2817 cwts., or 310,740 lbs. avoird. In Sweden, in 1824, 46,629 lbs. Swedish, or 38,523 lbs. avoird., valued at 155,430 rthlr. or £12,434, were obtained. It is mostly exported to England, where it is employed in colouring pottery.†

SECTION II.—BOTANY.

The botany of these countries presents few objects fitted to interest the general reader, either from the novelty of their properties or the beauty of their appearance. The chilling breezes of the North are too powerful to permit the vegetable world to assume those elegant or fantastic forms that captivate the fancy in the more luxuriant tropical regions. The unmitigated cold of the long dark winter crushes every plant, unless the most hardy and vigorous, whilst the short summer allows little more time than is required to bring their fruit to maturity before they are again buried in the snow. In soil and climate, also, the more favoured part of Scandinavia approaches so nearly to our own island, that we cannot expect any great variety in their vegetable productions. It has been calculated that of 1165 Swedish plants we possess 912, or 78 per cent.; and even in Lapland, notwithstanding its arctic climate, more than 75 per cent., or 375 out of 495 species, including 52 trees or shrubs, are indigenous to Britain.‡ This similarity deprives the Flora of those kingdoms of much of the interest that is attached to that of lands more widely separated from our

* Forsell, Statistik, p. 133.

† Hassel, p. 463. Forsell, p. 127.

‡ Watson's Geography of British Plants, pp. 95, 113. The above estimates include only the phanerogamous plants; the whole number of species in Wahlenberg's Flora is 2331, belonging to 563 genera.

own, and renders any detailed account of its various productions unnecessary. As, however, the distribution of these in a country extending through more than 15° of latitude, forms a curious subject of inquiry, we shall present a sketch of it, choosing as objects of comparison the more useful and best known plants, adding occasionally some account of their properties, and the use made of them by the inhabitants.

Denmark, exclusive of the Faroe Islands, Greenland, and Iceland, contains 1197 cotyledonous plants, of which 322 are monocotyledons. These vary considerably in the different provinces; but Zealand, probably from being best explored, possesses the greatest number peculiar to itself. In Holstein we find the northern limit of the fringed buckbean (*Menyanthes nymphæoides*), and in Lealand and Falster, that of the common mallow and asparagus (*Althea* and *Asparagus officinalis*); here also is the southern boundary of the Scottish lovage (*Ligusticum Scoticum*). In Jutland, of which the eastern shore is the most fertile, the following plants grow for the last time to the northward; barren fescue grass (*Festuca bromoides*); the small gentianella (*Exacum filiforme*), with yellow flowers; field eringo (*Eringium campestre*); the summer snowflake (*Leucoium æstivum*); the meadow saffron (*Colchicum autumnale*); the asarabacca (*Asarum Europæum*), with its dark leaves and drooping flowers; the celandine (*Chelidonium glaucum*); the purple foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*), &c. In the higher parts of the island of Bornholm we find many Norwegian and Swedish plants, unknown in Denmark Proper, and in it is also the northern and eastern limit of the common furze or whin (*Ulex Europæus*), of the *Carex extensa*, and the *Melilotus ornithopodioides*.*

The moist and cloudy atmosphere of Denmark is, however, so far suited to the soil, that all the kinds of grain common to that latitude, as oats, barley, rye, wheat, and other varieties, are found to succeed. Tobacco and hops are cultivated, and in the gardens the usual kinds of fruit, especially apples, pears, cherries, and

* Horneman, Bulletin Universel, tome xiv. p. 427.

hazèl-nuts, which are sent in great numbers to Russia. Of the forests that once covered a great portion both of the continent and islands but few remains are now found, and those mostly in Lauenburg, consisting principally of oaks and beeches. To supply the deficiency of fire-wood, the people make use of the turf cut from the heaths, and, on the coast, of the sea-weeds cast up by the waves. In the north of Jutland, the *Elymus arenarius*, *Thymus arenarius*, *Arundo arenaria*, and *Carex arenaria*, with their roots and leaves serve to check the floods of sand that threaten to overwhelm the whole country, and are carefully preserved.*

Sweden and Norway offer a more favourable field for the botanist than Denmark in the variety of plants called forth by the difference of climate, soil, and exposure. In these two kingdoms, however, the distribution of vegetation is regulated by laws varying somewhat from each other; Sweden, along the coast of the Baltic, possessing more of an inland or continental climate, and Norway more of an insular. Owing to this, the limit of many plants extends farther north on the west coast, where the climate, though more humid and inconstant, is milder, and less subject to extreme cold than on the opposite side of the mountains. Even in Sweden the same difference is noticed, both the eastern and western coasts possessing many plants which are not found on the other, and the northern limit of those which are common varying considerably.

The first region of Sweden towards the south is marked by the presence of the beech. This tree in general ceases to grow between 57° and 58°, though the boundary is rather uncertain, as it has been found in Kinnekulle, and other situations northward of that limit. This begins on the east near Monsteraas, on the Calmar Sound, and runs obliquely by Vernamo and Boras, to the south of the province of Bohus on the Cattegat. In the provinces included in this district we find most of our common English forest-trees, as the elm, oak, white and black poplars, the hornbeam (*Carpinus Betulus*),

* Hassel, pp. 13, 23.

which, though extending farther north in the east, falls short of the beech in the west. With it we also find the honeysuckle (*Lonicera periclymenum*), and the common and dwarf elders (*Sambucus nigra* and *Ebulus*). Other plants common to this region are the following : *Gnaphalium arenarium*, *Chærophylum Anthriscus*, *Cineraria palustris*, *Inula pulicaris*, *Stachys arvensis*, *Sison inundatum*, *Juncus capitatus*, *Holcus mollis*, *Aira præcox*, and *Panicum sanguinale*.* Of these provinces, Scania is the most highly favoured, both in the fertility of the soil and the mildness of the temperature ; the thermometer being seldom below 27° Fah., whilst the mean at Lund is 45°. It contains 915 plants, or more than three-fourths of the whole Flora of the kingdom, many of which are peculiar to itself, as the common maple (*Acer campestre*), *Filago germanica*, *Crepis biennis*, *Trifolium striatum* ; whilst other more southern plants seem to have been introduced by accident, as *Alsine viscosa*, *Euphorbia cyparissias*, and *Asarum europæum*. In the cultivated ground, wheat, buckwheat, hops, tobacco, and flax grow in great luxuriance.†

The vegetation of the other provinces is very similar : that of Halland, however, being marked by many western plants, as the upright St John's wort (*Hypericum pulchrum*), and *Genista germanica* ; whilst the woods are mostly beech filled with lichens, mixed in the higher and stony situations with *Galium saxatile*, and in the muddy localities, near the shore, with *Ranunculus hederaceus*.‡

The province of Smaland, which lies partly to the south and partly to the north of the limit of the beech, is marked by many changes in its Flora as we proceed from the east to the west ; a few of which we shall shortly notice. Near Westervik in Calmar-län, the vegetation is very luxuriant, and the fields are adorned with the beautiful party-coloured cow-wheat (*Melampyrum*), and with the vermillion or white flowers of the *Orchis*

* Wahlenberg, *Flora Suecica*, *Introd.* p. xliv.

† *Ibid.* pp. xlv. lxi. Hassel, p. 400.

‡ *Ibid.* p. xliv.

sambucina and *Corydalis cava*. As we ascend into the interior, we lose the common buckthorn (*Rhamnus catharticus*), and the upright honeysuckle (*Lonicera Xylosteum*); but at the same time meet with the toadflax (*Thesium alpinum*), and cinquefoil (*Potentilla acaulis*). In the middle of Smaland, at Helgasjö, *Melampyrum nemorosum*, *Alopecurus pratensis*, *Viola mirabilis* and *hirta*, &c. disappear; whilst the *Erica Tetralix*, which marks the boundary between the east and west most exactly, is now found. As we approach the river Laga, we lose the dropwort (*Spiræa Filipendula*), the meadow saxifrage (*S. granulata*), and all the broad-leaved bellflowers; so that on passing this river the early and luxuriant vegetation of the east is gone, and a later and more autumnal replaces it, composed of the beech, the dwarf cornel (*Cornus Suecica*), marsh gentian (*G. Pneumonanthe*), *Scirpus fluitans*, and of many ferns, which, rare in other places, are here very abundant, as *Osmunda regalis*, *Blechnum spicant*, and various others.*

The second region is that of the oak, comprising nearly the middle of Sweden, or the under half of the rivers flowing into the Mælar lake from the north. It grows in the lower parts of Wermeland, the plains of Nerike round Wiby, and the maritime districts of Upland and Gestrikeland. It is planted as far as Sundsvall, and is seen for the last time at Harnæs, in lat. 60° 40'. This is also the northern limit of the star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum luteum*), of the sweet briar or eglantine, of the wild pear and crab-apple (*Pyrus communis* and *malus*), of the sloe (*Prunus spinosa*), the celandine (*Chelidonium majus*), and the viper's bugles (*Echium vulgare*). In Upland, which is often compared to Scania for fertility, many plants found in the pastures thus far disappear, as the *Fragaria collina*, *Polygala comosa*, while the eastern *Salvia pratensis*, *Fumaria parviflora*, &c., are scarcely found in any other part of Sweden; in Nerike, *Orehis morio*, *Apargia hispida*, and *Lathyrus heterophyllus* also cease.† In the southern part

* Wahlberg, p. xl.

† Ibid. pp. xxxiii. xxxviii. lii. &c.

of this district, wheat, buckwheat, and barley are cultivated, but in the north the principal grain is rye and oats. Cherries are the fruit which succeeds best, though other kinds also grow, and the plum bears fruit to Gefle; north of which tobacco is seldom cultivated with advantage. On the coast near Stockholm, the climate, from the influence of the seabreezes, is milder than its situation promises, and it is said that the beech and white mulberry have been found able to resist the rigour of the winter.*

On losing the oak, we enter on a wilder and more lonely district, possessing none of those beautiful and enchanting spots, which, notwithstanding the long winter and northern climate, often arrest the traveller in the southern provinces. Cultivation is now almost neglected, and man is forsaken by the greater number of his domestic animals. This is the Norrland region, or that of the maple, in which we lose most of the larger trees and bushes with deciduous leaves. It extends north to Skulekogen in Angermania, and is characterized by the presence of the following trees or shrubs, which are found at least on the more fertile sides of the mountains; the *Acer platanoides*, the lime tree (*Tilia europæa*), the alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), the hazel-nut (*Corylus Avellana*), the guelder rose (*Viburnum Opulus*), and the upright honeysuckle (*Lonicera Xylosteum*).† In eastern Wermeland, lying immediately north of the boundary of the oak, we still see the plantains (*Plantago major* and *media*), the fox-tail grass (*Alopecurus pratensis*), and great abundance of the cocks-foot grass (*Dactylis glomerata*); whilst many of the Norrland plants have here their southern limit, as *Carex globularis*, and *Phleum alpinum*.‡ In Jamtland, the cold, owing to the elevation of the ground, the whole lying 1000 feet above the sea, and the contiguity of the mountains on which the snow line descends, to about 5000 feet, is equal to that of Tornea. Here, with the termination of the transition

* 310, 323. Daumont, Voyage, tome i. p. 309.
 ‡ Ibid. p. xxxii.

† Ibid. p. i

limestone rocks, many southern plants, as *Pedicularis sylvatica*, *Carex ornithopoda*, *Mespilus Cotoneaster*, or the dwarf medlar, also cease; whilst near the Snowy Alps, the *Satyrium nigrum* of Switzerland, and the Scottish *Juncus castaneus*, are found conjoined. The most common crops in this region are gray pease, oats, which seldom ripen beyond lat. 64°, flax and hemp. In some sheltered spots near the shore, rye and barley are also sown, and in the gardens we find pease, vetches, beans, turnips, potatoes, and cabbage; though this last north of 64° does not form a head every year. To preserve their crops in the clear evenings of August, from the chilling effects of the north and north-west winds, the Jamtlanders collect bundles of twigs on the north side of their fields, which they set on fire when the wind blows from the dreaded point. Even hay for feeding the cattle during the eight or nine months they must be kept in the stall, too often fails, when the deficiency must be supplied with the bark of the pine and mountain ash, the leaves of the birch and aspen, or the rein-deer moss, which in some districts forms a third part of the winter food. Though fruit-trees are planted, they seldom come to any perfection, but the innumerable wild berries that fill the woods in some measure compensate for their want. Of these the most highly valued are the rasp (*Rubus idæus*), crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*), bilberry (*Vaccinium Myrtillus*), cranberry (*V. oxycoccus*), and red whortleberry (*V. vitis Idæa*), which forms a favourite Swedish sauce.*

In North and West Bothnia, comprising most of Swedish Lapland, nature assumes her wildest and most desolate form. Nearly the whole of the district is covered by chains of mountains, ten in number, extending from the Koelens, on which the snow-line descends to 3000 or 4000 feet; and in the east, where these ridges sink down into a plain, nothing is to be seen but boundless heaths, bottomless morasses, immense lakes, wild rolling rivers, and dark impenetrable woods. It is only in some

* Forsell, Statistik, p. 24. Wahlenberg, p. liii. Hassel, pp. 427, 432.

favoured spots, south of latitude 65°, that grain, rye, barley, and oats, ripen; and that in so small quantities, that even in the best years the inhabitants never eat bread of pure corn, generally mixing it with bark or the roots of the *Calla palustris*, though this plant, which is of a poisonous family, is thought prejudicial to the health. Before it can be used it must undergo a long process; the roots dug in spring, being first dried, are afterwards boiled in water, till it is thick like flummery. After standing in this state some days, it loses the acrid taste, and, mixed with the meal of fir bark, is made into bread, which, though tough, is sweet and white. The buckbean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*) is employed for the same purpose, but only in cases of great necessity, the bread made of it being "extremely bitter and detestable."* This district is divided into several regions, of which the first, or under woody region, includes nearly all West Bothnia and Angermania, as far as the *Arundo lapponica* descends to the south. This district is adorned by the luxuriant growth of the sweet gale (*Myrica Gale*), *Calla palustris*, and the alder buckthorn (*Rhamnus Frangula*). The next is the region of the spruce fir (*Pinus Abies*), and is distinguished by numerous lakes, which render the air moist, and promote the growth of this tree. Here the *Satyrion albidum*, *Aconitum Lycocotum*, *Carex bicolor*, *Phaca lapponica*, and *Arenaria humifusa*, grow. Before the spruce fails altogether it assumes a very unusual appearance,—that of a tall slender pole, covered from the ground with short, drooping, dark branches,—a gloomy object in those desolate forests. With it we lose the cinnamon rose (*Rosa cinnamomea*), *Convallaria bifolia*, *Lysimachia thyrsiflora*, and *Galium boreale*; whilst the *Rubus arcticus*, or dwarf bramble, no longer ripens its fruit. The boundary of the spruce on the Lapland Alps is about 3200 feet below the line of perpetual snow.†

The next region is that of the Scotch fir (*Pinus sylvestris*), which still grows, though its low stem and

* Linnaeus, Lach. Lap. vol. i. pp. 200, 352. Haussl, p. 436-438.

† Wahlenberg, pp. xxii. xxiv. Lin. Lach. Lap. vol. ii. p. 274.

widely-extended branches show that it, too, suffers from the inclement situation. Here we see the last of *Ledum palustre*, *Salix pentandra*, and the *Veronica serpyllifolia*; even the bogs have a very sterile appearance. At about 3000 feet under the line of perpetual snow, barley ceases to ripen; but small farmers, who live by grazing and fishing, are met with 400 feet higher, and thus far potatoes and turnips are worth cultivating.* The next is the region of the birch, whose short thick stem, and stiff, widely-spreading, knotty branches, seem prepared to resist the strong winds from the mountains. This zone is widest in Northern Lapland, where the hills rise more gradually, and there, from the want of inhabitants, is called the Lapland Desert. In it the *Alnus incana*, the bird-cherry (*Prunus Padus*), and the aspen (*Populus tremula*), terminate long before the birch; whilst the *Sorbus aucuparia*, *Rubus arcticus*, and *Calluna vulgaris*, approach nearer to the limit.†

Above this are the Lower Alps, which are free from snow during most of the summer, especially in the north, where the sun has more power from his long continuance above the horizon. Their most characteristic plants are various *Andromeda*, some of which are very beautiful, the *Hierochloa alpina*, and *Phaca frigida*. The *Betula nana*, or dwarf birch, in the higher parts, creeps entirely on the ground, whilst the *Salix glauca*, *S. hastata*, and a few juniper bushes, are scattered over the lower.‡

Next are the Snowy Alps, which are never wholly uncovered, and where the ground is kept constantly moist. These have still several peculiar plants, as the *Ranunculus nivalis*, *Saxifraga nivalis* and *cernua*, *Aira alpina*; whilst the vivid azure tints of *Gentiana nivalis* and *tenella* decorate the precipices exposed to the sun. Above this are the icy summits of the Alps, where only a few dark spots appear amidst the perpetual snows. From the extreme moisture, these still possess some very characteristic plants, as the *Ranunculus*

* Wahlenberg, p. xxxi. Lin. Lach. Lap. vol. ii. p. 275.

† Ibid. p. 276.

‡ Ibid. p. 278.

glacialis, *Gentiana glacialis*, and *Draba alpina*. Many lichens also find a place to grow even farther up, in the crevices of perpendicular rocks, where the snow cannot lie. The snow-bunting is the only living creature that visits this elevated spot.*

The botany of Sweden is distinguished by other peculiarities besides those now noticed, as arising from latitude and temperature. We have already pointed out the difference that exists between the eastern and western districts of Sweden, and given an example of it in the changes produced on the Flora of Smaland. But the variation of soil has also a great influence on vegetable life; and many plants found in the transition regions, where limestone rocks predominate, are never seen in the less fertile primitive country. Owing to their almost pure calcareous soil and insular situation, Oland and Gothland possess many plants in common, which have not been observed in other parts of the kingdom. Of these we may mention *Globularia vulgaris*, growing in the highest and most exposed parts of the islands,—*Adonis vernalis*, on the southern promontories; *Coronilla Emerus*, frequenting the rocky precipices; *Sisymbrium supinum*, *Artemisia rupestris*, *Galium rotundifolium*, *Scandix Pecten*, covering the bare rocks that so often rise amidst the fields; *Carex tomentosa*, *Elymus europæus*, *Ochis pyramidalis*, besides others of this genus which abound here, though rare elsewhere, scattered through the meadows; and *Schœnus Mariscus* in the marshes. Each of these islands has some plants peculiar to it; those of Gothland have been compared to such as grow upon the limestone mountains of Austria, as *Helianthemum Fumana*, *Inula ensifolia*, and *Serapias rubra*; whilst the dry and stony soil of Southern Oland has a vegetation more nearly resembling that of the Mediterranean, or even Africa, as in *Helianthemum Oelandicum*, *Carex obtusata*, *Artemisia laciniata*, *Anemone sylvestris*, *Ulmus affusa*, and *Viola persicifolia*.†

In Norway, the order of vegetation, with a few pe-

* Wahlenberg, p. xxx. Län. Lach. Lap. vol. ii. p. 282.

† Ibid. pp. xlix. l.

culiarities, is similar to what we have described in Sweden. Even in the south the climate has completely a northern or almost arctic character,—the year consisting of only two seasons, winter and summer; the dissolution of the snow being followed, with scarcely a week of interval, by the trees shooting out their leaves. Vegetation proceeds with great rapidity, and the harvest is generally cut in the end of July,—the winter cold beginning to be felt even in September. Round Christiania (latitude 60° N.), oaks, ashes, elms, limes, and maple, are very common; whilst a short distance south, as at Laurvig, the beech continues to thrive. Not only cherries and apples, but also pears and apricots ripen in the open air; and roses flower, though nearly a month later than in the north of Germany. Agriculture is on a very limited scale, and the crops, principally oats and barley, scarcely suffice for the inhabitants. On leaving the coast, as we ascend, the oak, with its accompanying fruit-trees, requiring a mean temperature of 40° Fahr., disappears, and forests of pines, interspersed with elms and alders, cover the mountains, succeeded in the higher Dovrefield by woods of birch, till at 5800 feet we meet the snow-line. The pasture on these mountains is very unlike that found in Britain, being principally juniper, blackberry, dwarf willow, and such shrubs intermixed with a little rough grass. In these lofty situations, however, numerous rare and beautiful saxifrages and gentians make their appearance, enlivening with their delicate flowers the otherwise lonely rocks. There also grows “the *Salix herbacea*, a dwarf alpine species of willow, of which half a dozen trees, with all their branches, leaves, flowers, and roots, might be compressed between two pages of a lady’s pocket-book, without coming in contact with each other.”*

In Romedal-amt, near Molde (latitude $62^{\circ} 47'$), where the mean temperature is only 41° Fahr., different kinds of pears and plums come to perfection, and even the walnut bears ripe fruit. The elm and hazel form con-

* Bach’s Travels, pp. 41, 53, 100. Clarke’s Travels, vol. v. p. 697. Laing, p. 95.

tinuous woods, and the following trees and bushes grow readily :—Canadian and balsam poplars, horse-chestnut, larch, elder, yew, various roses, lavender, box, laburnum, white thorn, and ivy ; but from some peculiarity of soil or climate, the *gran*, or Scotch fir, does not succeed.*

At Trondheim the climate is much deteriorated, and the scanty vegetation undergoes still greater limitations. Cherries and plums no longer ripen ; and pears and apples only with great care, whilst the oak scarcely continues to live. This, however, is partly owing to the exposure ; for, in some sheltered situations, even farther north, cherries still ripen, and woods of oak, lime, and ash trees are found. Thus, at Steenkjær, near the mouth of the Snaasen vand, though farther north (latitude 64°), the vegetation is far more luxuriant than at Trondheim. Laing saw there great crops of rye, oats, bear, flax, and hops, and a standard cherry tree with ripe fruit. The common and mountain ash were scarce, and grew with difficulty,—aspen, wild cherry, birch, and pines being the prevailing trees ; juniper, raspberry, and wild roses, the bushes.† On passing to the north of the Trondheim Fiord, the climate and vegetation become truly arctic. The spruce fir scarcely goes beyond 67° , and the few remains of natural wood consist of birch and Scotch fir, and even these only along the deeper fiords and large streams. The climate here is less rigid, and the winters milder and shorter than in many parts of the interior of Sweden, so that the hazel and some other hardy trees attain a higher latitude. Many Swedish plants, as the *Rubus arcticus*, are altogether wanting here ; whilst others, for example, *Saxifraga Cotyledon*, and *cæspitosa*, are more abundant ; and some, as the *Polypodium Oreopteris*, are found here alone. The seacoast has also several peculiar plants, as, *Gentiana involucrata* and *serotina*, *Carex maritima* and *salina* ; and below Lofoden, *Stedum villosum*. At Alten juniper bushes grow, and barley sometimes succeeds in the valleys ; whilst even

at the North Cape, in latitude 71° , potatoes, brocoli, and gooseberries are still raised in the gardens.*

The following comparison of the relative numbers of a few natural families in Denmark, in the whole of Sweden, and in Lapland, may perhaps not be without interest. The Orchideous plants in Denmark are 26, or 1 : 46 of the whole phanerogamous vegetation ; in Sweden they are 34, or 1 : 34 ; and in Lapland 1 : 45. According to the rule generally given, they ought to diminish towards the pole. The Composite plants in Denmark are 112, or 1 : 11 ; in Sweden, 110, or 1 : 11 ; and in Lapland, 1 : 14, which is according to the rule. The Umbelliferous plants also diminish towards the pole ; in Denmark they are as 1 : 23 ; in Sweden, 1 : 31 ; and in Lapland, 1 : 55. The Cruciferæ are, in Denmark, 1 : 22 ; in Sweden, 1 : 20 ; and in Lapland, 1 : 24. The mallows disappear entirely as we approach the pole ; in Denmark they are 6, or 1 : 199, but as one of them is doubtful, the proportion should probably be 1 : 239 ; in Germany it is as 1 : 235 ; in Sweden, 1 : 291 ; whilst in Lapland none have been found. The Caryophyllæ increase as we approach the pole ; in Denmark and Sweden they are 1 : 21 ; and in Lapland, 1 : 17. The Leguminous plants are, in Denmark, 1 : 20 ; in Sweden, 1 : 22 ; and in Lapland, 1 : 35. The Amentaceæ, in Denmark, are, 1 : 36 ; in Sweden, 1 : 27 ; and in Lapland, on account of the willows (*Salices*), 1 : 17. The Glumaceous plants, including the Cyperoideæ, Junci, and Typhæ, in Denmark, are as 1 : 6 ; in Sweden, as 1 : 5 ; and in Lapland, 1 : 7.†

SECTION I

The progress of science, whilst it has greatly increased our knowledge of real existences, has stripped the zoology of Scandinavia of many of those wonders which astonished and delighted our ancestors. In treatises on its natural history we no longer meet with descriptions

* Wahlenberg, pp. xxxiv. xxxvi. Forsell, Statistik, p. 22.

† Horneman, Bulletin Universel, tome xiv. p. 427. Wahlenberg, p. lxi. &c.

of the sea-serpent or kraken, the Leviathan of the North,—

“ Whom, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam,
The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
With fixed anchor in his scaly rind,
Moors by his side, under the lee, while night
Invests the sea, and wished morn delays ;”—

or with tales of mermaids who have carried their mortal lovers, plunging from some lofty rock into the dark abyss of ocean,—to crystal palaces, adorned with furniture of gold, and illuminated with the brilliancy of diamonds. Even the more sober version of these stories, which found its last refuge in the natural history of Pootopidan, has been unceremoniously rejected by his matter-of-fact successors, notwithstanding the array of proofs and documents brought forward by the worthy but credulous bishop.

The number of animals found in those countries is more considerable than might at first be expected from their northern locality. Linnæus, in his *Fauna Suecica*, described 2266 species ; and subsequent researches have greatly increased the number, especially in the lower classes. Muller, in his *Fauna of Denmark and Norway*, enumerates 57 species of mammalia, of which 14 are cetaceous animals ; and 232 birds, of which 87 are terrestrial, exclusive of 26 eagles, falcons, and owls. Most of these are common to the other northern kingdoms of Europe and to our own country ; but with this remarkable difference in the latter case, that many species which with them are only summer visitants, with us spend the whole year, or retreat hither from the cold of more elevated latitudes. Thus, in Sudermania, between 58° 51' and 59° 5' north lat., Ekstroem enumerates more than 70 migratory birds, of which 46 arrive in spring and depart in autumn. Of these 23, principally those which arrive the soonest, remain all the year in Britain, and 7 others migrate to this country in winter. Amongst the first we find the wood and sky larks (*Alauda arborea* and *arvensis*), the jackdaw, the carrion-crow (*Corvus corone*), the common starling (*Sturn-*

nus vulgaris), the song thrush (*Turdus musicus*), the redbreast (*Sylvia rubecula*), the willow wren (*S. trochilus*), and even the kite and common buzzard (*Falco milvus* and *buteo*); of the latter we may mention the redwing (*Turdus iliacus*), the woodcock (*Scolopax rusticola*), and the mallard (*Anas boschas*). Other summer migratory birds which, arriving individually, are not included in the former numbers, are the missel thrush (*Turdus viscivorus*), the chaffinch (*Fringilla cœlebs*), and the hooded crow (*Corvus cornix*).*

QUADRUPEDS.—The domestic animals of Scandinavia are chiefly horses, cows, goats, sheep, and swine, to which, in the north, must be added the rein-deer. In Denmark there are two races of horses, the true Danish, found on the islands, which, though small, are strong and spirited; and those of Holstein and Jutland, of a dark glossy bay colour, and larger size, which are much valued for carriages and cavalry, and exported in great numbers to other countries. In Sweden and Norway the horses are smaller and much inferior; the natives being destitute of that love for these animals which distinguishes the Dane, and too often treating them in a cruel and tyrannical manner. They are, however, swift and hardy, and those of Norway are remarkably sure-footed,—a quality highly necessary in the rugged and almost precipitous roads of that country. The feeding of horned cattle is also a more extensive occupation in Denmark than in the more northern kingdoms, where it is often impossible to procure food for them during the eight or nine months of winter. The cows fed in the rich pastures of Holstein and Jutland are large and handsome, and produce the celebrated Hamburg beef.

In Denmark there are, properly speaking, no beasts of prey, with the exception of foxes, polecats, and weasels; but the two more northern kingdoms still contain many of the more powerful carnivorous animals. The almost impenetrable recesses of the mountains and forests offer secure retreats to them, from whence they commit

* *Parusac*, Bul. des Sciences Nat. tome xxii. p. 117.

great damage on the cattle of the vicinity. The number of these destroyed by wild beasts in Sweden in 1827 is stated by Forsell at 36,613, worth more than L.10,000.

The bear (*Ursus arctos*), the largest and most formidable of the Scandinavian beasts of prey, is now chiefly confined to Dalecarlia and some other of the wilder and more northern provinces. Of this there is only one species in Sweden, though different individuals vary considerably both in size and colour. Usually it is dark-brown, though in some instances black or gray, and even white; and they have often a white ring round their neck, especially when young. The bear grows till he is twenty, and lives fifty years; and sometimes weighs four or five cwt. or even more. He possesses immense strength, which he employs to the greatest advantage when resting on his hind legs. M. Nilsson relates that one has been seen walking on his hind feet along a small tree that stretched across a river, bearing a dead horse in his paws. He is also an expert swimmer, and individuals have been known to cross some of the straits two miles wide, that separate the Norwegian islands from the mainland, to prey on the sheep and cattle pasturing on them.

The bear is not altogether carnivorous, devouring indiscriminately either vegetables or animal food. He eats the roots, leaves, and branches of trees, and is fond of succulent plants, as the angelica and the berries common in the forests. He often commits great havoc among the ripe corn, gathering it like a sheaf in his arms and eating the ears. He is also said to be partial to ants in consequence of their pungent taste. He, however, proves most injurious to the farmer when he has once attacked the cattle, since flesh is afterwards preferred to all other food. During the winter the bear is in a state of dormancy, retiring to his den, often some old ant-hill, which he lines with pine branches, about the middle of November, and not leaving it, unless disturbed, till April. In this retreat also the female brings forth her young in the month of January, and usually two or three at a birth. Though thus deprived of all nourishment, the bear continues fat and in good condi-

tion all the winter, and is even said to grow fatter down to the end of February. When he leaves his den in the spring, he at first eats very little, commencing, according to Pontoppidan, with an ant's nest to strengthen his stomach.

Many anecdotes are told of the sagacity of the bear, the peasants saying that he has the wit of two men, and the strength of seven. The chase of this animal is a favourite pastime in Sweden and Norway, and is conducted in various ways, regulated by peculiar laws and customs. The most common mode is for two or three individuals, armed with guns and spears, and accompanied by their dogs, to attack him in his winter quarters. On other occasions, the whole population of several parishes engage in what are called *skalls*; when a number of men surround a district of country and drive all the wild animals to the centre, where they are shot. These *skalls* often resemble armies rather than hunting parties; and at one ordered by the governor of Dalecarlia, where Mr Lloyd was present, the number of men assembled was 1500. In 1829, there were killed in Sweden 125 bears, of which 53 were in Umea-län, 17 in Falu-län, and the rest in smaller numbers in the other provinces.*

Closely allied to the above is the badger (*Meles europæa*), found throughout the middle and south of Sweden, but too well known to require any description, and the glutton or wolverine (*Ursus Gulo*, Linn.) This last is now mostly found in the Lapland Alps and forests of Dalecarlia, and even in these wild districts has become very scarce. Its skin, covered with soft glossy brown hair, with a black streak on the back, is considered valuable, and the hunters use various stratagems to obtain it uninjured. This animal is the most ferocious and untameable found in Scandinavia, destroying every other that comes within its reach, though its appetite, and the means it employs to increase it, have been much exag-

* Lloyd's Field Sports of the North of Europe (2d edit. Lond. 1831), vol. i. p. 91; vol. ii. pp. 35, 125. Bach's Travels, p. 200. Pontoppidan's Nat. Hist. part ii. p. 16.

gerated. It has recourse to many artifices in seeking its prey, as from its heavy body it is far from being swift; sometimes stealing on its victim secretly, at others dropping from trees or rocks on the deer or horses that pass underneath, and fixing upon them, sucks their blood till they sink under its power.*

The wolf (*Canis lupus*) is, next to the bear, the most powerful beast of prey in the North, where it seems to have increased of late. Pontoppidan states that it was unknown in Bergen before 1718, when it first crossed the mountains; and this opinion is confirmed by Linnæus, who says, that twenty-six years before his time (1746) it was a rare animal in Sweden. In those kingdoms it is thought there are two species; the black wolf (*Canis lycaon*), of a deep uniform black, with the exception of a white mark on the breast, and the common wolf. This is generally dark gray, changing in the winter to white, with a black streak on the fore limbs, and is considerably larger than the dog, to which it is closely allied in habits and physical development. His ears are pointed and erect, and his tail, unlike that of the dog, is straight. The wolf is far from being courageous, and will seldom attack any large animal, until pressed by hunger, which rouses the full energy of his powers. He usually seeks his prey in the gray of the morning, or the evening twilight, destroying every creature he can master, rats, hares, foxes, deer, elks, and even the bear himself. He also devours birds, domestic animals, and even men when he can find an opportunity. Wolves are most dangerous, however, in the winter, when, from an instinctive dread of every thing hanging over their heads, they shun the snow-clad woods, and flocking to the open plains and frozen lakes, render travelling on them very dangerous. The easiest way to prevent their attacks is to allow a rope to hang down behind the sledge, the serpentine windings of which, from the inequalities of the ground, frighten them so as to make them remain at a secure distance. They are

* Lloyd, vol. ii. p. 316. Pontoppidan, part ii. p. 22.

also often hunted, and in 1829, in Sweden, 558 were killed.*

The fox is still very common, though from the increase of wolves less so than formerly. They are white, red, or black, and are divided by Professor Wilson into five varieties, but they differ little either in their habits or their food from those of this country. The fjäll, or arctic fox (*Ovula lagopus*), of a dingy gray or ash colour in summer, and white in winter, is considered as a peculiar species. It is smaller than the common fox, and wants both his cunning and speed. They are not numerous, and inhabit chiefly the lofty mountains and places remote from the habitation of men. Fox-hunting, though a favourite amusement in Sweden, is, from the nature of the ground, generally pursued on foot; the number of foxes killed in 1829 was 8466, and principally in the southern provinces.†

The lynx, which has now disappeared from the southern countries of Europe, still keeps its place in Scandinavia, where it is very destructive to the smaller animals. In summer, it is reddish brown, in winter, grayish, with dark spots, and has much the appearance of a cat, though larger, and distinguished by the tufts of hair which adorn its ears. Some writers think there are two or three species in those regions, but it is probable they are only varieties; in 1829, the number killed was 219.‡

Besides these larger and more destructive carnivorous animals, others of the same class inhabit the Northern kingdoms. The marten frequents the beech and pine forests; the polecat is observed in the south; and the weasel and ermine are common in the woods, especially in Lapland. Otters abound in all the streams, and commit great havoc amongst the fish; whilst in the ocean and Baltic sea, numerous seals, of which it is probable there is more than one species, are found. The bat commonly

* Linn. vol. i. p. 263; vol. ii. p. 17. Linn. Fauna Suecica, p. 3. Duch's Travels, p. 84.

† Lloyd, vol. i. p. 36, &c.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 180. Linn. Fauna Suecica, p. 2.

frequents holes in trees and walls, and here, as in other cold countries, passes the winter in sleep. The hedgehog, mostly confined to Gothland and the south, the mole, and the shrew, are the principal insectivorous animals.

Of gnawing animals, squirrels abound in all the forests, and in Lapland, the flying squirrel (*Sciurus volans*, Linn.), though rare, is sometimes met with. There are several species of mice, as the dormouse, the common house and field mouse, which is said to migrate, and the black and brown rat. Neither of these two last are indigenous to Sweden, nor indeed to Europe, and the brown, which in the seaport towns has almost extirpated the other, though often called the Norway rat, only made its appearance there about the middle of last century. Both seem to have originated in the east, which is confirmed by their absence from Lapland.

The lemming (*Georychus lemmus*), about the size of a rat, with a short tail, and fine fur diversified with black and yellow, in general inhabits the lofty mountains, where they live in holes, and are not distinguished as social animals. At irregular intervals, seldom less than ten years, they leave these retired abodes, and proceed in vast numbers to the cultivated districts, where they commit great depredations on the grain and pasture, eating up every green thing in their way. They are supposed to be induced to migrate by a want of food; and it has been observed that the succeeding winter is always unusually severe. They move in a straight line, disregarding every impediment, or if obliged to go round any object, they immediately resume their former direction. Innumerable enemies follow in their train, as owls, hawks, and weasels, and their numbers are farther lessened by their obstinate endeavours to pass rivers and precipices, so that but few survivors return to their native mountains. In the diocese of Bergen an annual holiday was kept in Pontoppidan's time, called the mouse-festival, which took its rise from a fast established formerly to avert this plague, and he also gives the form of exorcism used on that occasion.*

* Griffith's Cuvier, vol. iii. p. 114. Pontoppidan, part ii. p. 30.

The only others of that order we shall mention are the hare, turning white in winter ; and the beaver, which, though long ago banished from the south of Europe, still finds a retreat on the banks of the solitary lakes and rivers of Lapland, where it may build its huts and construct its ponds. Their food is principally the bark of the aspen and other alpine trees, though in confinement they may be accustomed to live on animal matter.

The noblest wild animal found in Scandinavia is undoubtedly the elk (*Cervus alces*). This beautiful species of deer, once common in the woods of Germany and the middle of Europe, is now confined to the more unfrequented districts of Sweden and Norway, where, though protected by many laws, it will also probably soon disappear. In Scania, where they were once numerous, they have been totally extirpated, and as they cannot endure the cold of a higher latitude than 64°, they are prevented from taking refuge in the northern forests.

The elk measures seven or eight feet in height, and is of an ash or hoary brown colour, varying a little with age and the season. Its hair is long and stiff, and on the neck forms a light brown mane, with a coarse black tuft below. The horns, weighing about fifty lbs., are palmated with short points round the edge, and are used in winter to remove the snow that covers their food. It is a strong powerful animal, and does not attain the full size before its fourteenth year. Though in general very timid, yet at certain seasons, and when closely pursued, he defends himself boldly with his horns and hoofs, one stroke of the latter being often sufficient to destroy a wolf. Owing to their long legs, they reach the ground with difficulty, and feed principally on the leaves of the elm and aspen trees, turning down the branches with their horns. Their skins used to be made into leather for the dress of soldiers, being thought stronger and more durable than other kinds, whilst a ring cut out of the hoof was considered a sure specific against the cramp, for the rather strange reason that the animal is very subject to this disease. Formerly they were employed in drawing sledges, but are now never

used for that purpose, having been prohibited on account of the facility their speed afforded to criminals of eluding justice.*

There is scarcely any race of men so dependent for their subsistence on a single animal as the Laplanders are on the rein-deer. Their cold barren country, covered with snow and ice nine months of the year, produces few vegetables fit for human food, and during the season when fish cannot be procured, they would perish of absolute want were it not for the milk and flesh of their deer. It forms their chief or rather only wealth, the poorer classes possessing from 50 to 200 ; the middling, from 300 to 700 ; and the rich, from 1000 to 2000. They are now mostly in a domesticated condition, though wild ones are still sometimes met with in Dalecarlia and the Koelen Mountains. These useful creatures are of a gray or brown colour, darker when they have got their new coat, and becoming lighter afterwards. They are about four feet high, and the same in length, those found wild, however, being larger than the domesticated ones. The horns, which vary more than those of any other of the genus, are in the male often four feet long, with numerous branches ; those of the female are smaller, with fewer divisions. The foot and eye of this creature are also beautifully adapted to the country it is destined to inhabit. The hoof is very widely cloven, and when pressed on the ground, the two parts expand, thus forming a broad surface, and preventing the animal from sinking in the soft snow, amidst which it spends a great portion of its life. On the foot being raised, the divisions again fall together, making a curious crackling noise, resembling repeated electric shocks. Besides the usual eyelid, he is provided with a nictitating membrane, extending over the eyes, through which, in snow-storms, he can see without exposing these delicate organs to any injury.

The rein-deer is not capable of carrying much weight, being better fitted for running or drawing. In

* Lloyd, vol. ii. p. 326, &c. Griffith's Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, vol. iv. p. 73. Pontoppidan, part ii. p. 9.

a sledge a pair of them have been said to perform a journey of 100 miles, or, as the Laplanders express it, will change their horizon three times in twenty-four hours. To their acuteness of sight and smell their master trusts his life in the most dangerous paths, during the darkest nights of his stormy winter, and it is seldom he has to regret this confidence. Their milk is an important article of food, and according to Linnæus is dressed in nineteen different forms. Their flesh is eaten either fresh or salted; their skins form tents, clothing, and bed-covering; their sinews thread for sewing, and their tongues are a well-known article of commerce. Their food is principally the leaves and buds of trees, the catkins of the birch, and the rein-deer moss, which they search for with instinctive sagacity beneath the snow. They also eat frogs, snakes, and even the lemming, often pursuing the latter to so great a distance as not to find their way home again.*

Red-deer and roebucks are also found in Sweden and Norway, and in Scania a horn much larger than the common fallow-deer's, and differing from it in other points, has been found and referred to an extinct species,—the *Cervus Paleodama*.†

In the seas surrounding Scandinavia, numerous cetaceous animals appear; but as these have been already fully described in a former volume of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, we shall not detain the reader by any account of them.‡

BIRDS.—Among the feathered tribes, the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*) holds the first place, and is sometimes though rarely met with. Other species, such as the cinereous or sea eagle (*A. albicilla*), are more numerous. They prey on various sea-fish, and in Wermeland on the pike and salmon in the lakes, pouncing upon them when basking on the surface. Sometimes the fish proves too strong for his enemy, and drags him below the water, when, if he is unable to extricate

* Linn. Lach. Lap. vol. i. pp. 162, 307. Griffith's Cuvier, vol. iv. p. 79. Buch's Travels, pp. 313, 317.

† Griffith's Cuvier, vol. iv. p. 89.

‡ See Polar Seas and Regions (4th edit.) p. 71, &c.

his claws, he is drowned ; and pike are often taken with marks of the talons in their backs. They also destroy foxes, hares, sheep ; and instances are mentioned in which they have carried off children even before the eyes of their parents. They also attack deer, cows, and horses, though it is said that in these cases they make use of a singular stratagem. They first soak their wings in water, and then covering them with sand fly in the^a face of the animal, which, blinded and distracted by pain, runs about, till falling over some precipice, it becomes an easy prey to the eagle.*

Several falcons inhabit the northern kingdoms, and amongst others the *Falco umbrinus*, which, rare even in Sweden, is not found in Britain, and the jer falcon (*F. islandicus*), which usually confines its excursions to the colder regions of the North.

The great horned owl (*Strix bubo*) is the largest and most curious Swedish species. It inhabits woody rocks and ruined towers, and abounds in all the forests, where its melancholy hootings during the night increase the gloom of those dark shades. They fly not only by night, but also by day, and usually feed on hares and mice, though they also attack the largest birds, and the young of the stag, roebuck, and rein-deer. In Lapland we find the *Strix Lapponica*, Linn., of a large size, and white, with black spots. It seems peculiar to the lonely Alps of that desolate region. The snowy owl (*Strix nyctea*) and several other species are also found in these kingdoms.

Of the numerous passerine birds of Scandinavia, we can only mention a very few. The shrike and butcher birds (*Lanius collurio* and *excubitor*) are found in Gothland and in the meadows round Upsala. Nearly allied to these in food and habits are the flycatchers (*Muscicapæ*) and the waxwing (*Bombycilla garrula*). The thrushes of Britain are common in Sweden, where we also meet with the water-ouzel, or dipper, frequenting the lonely streams, and in winter seeking its food

* Lloyd, vol. i. pp. 237, 251. Pontoppidan, part ii. p. 89. Buch's Travels, p. 131.

in the vicinity of the cataracts and falls, where the turbulence of the water prevents the formation of ice. Amidst the warblers, notwithstanding the cold, the nightingale still fills with melody the woods and copses of Oland, Gothland, and Scania, where it is accompanied by the golden-crested and common wrens, the wagtails, and redbreast. Most of our other singing birds are also found there ; as, the sky and wood larks, the goldfinch, greenfinch, and bulfinch. The common sparrow is also seen, though even in the middle districts it is scarcely habituated to the climate, together with the chaffinch, the crossbills (*Loxia curvirostra* and *pytiosittacus*), and the pine grosbeak (*Pyrrhula enucleator*), which frequents the forests, and lives on the seeds of the fir, whose cones it opens in a very curious manner. Here also we may mention the buntings (*Emberizæ*) and titmice (*Pari*), which build in the holes of old trees, where they lay up their store of winter provisions. The starling frequents the woods in the spring and beginning of summer, making its nest in hollow trunks ; but about the month of June it departs for the plains of Scania. Crows are numerous in Scandinavia, and amongst others the raven, deemed sacred by the peasants, who can scarcely be prevailed on to kill one ; the rook, though mostly in the south ; and the jackdaw. The jay, in the opinion of Linnæus the most splendid and beautiful of Swedish birds, inhabits Smaland and Scania, whilst the magpie ranges farther north. The mocking jay (*Corvus infustus*) is unknown in Britain, and the nutcracker (*Nucifraga caryocatactes*), principally in Smaland, is one of our rarest birds.

Amongst the slender-billed birds, are the hoopoe, with its head adorned by a double crest of feathers, causing the vast forests to resound with its oft-repeated name, and considered by the peasants as an omen of war (*Bellonæ omen*) ; the bee-eater on the coasts, and the nuthatch and creeper (*Certhia*), similar in some of their habits to the woodpeckers. Of these last there are several which enliven the solitary forests with their variegated colours, and the noise they make in piercing

the decaying trees in search of food. Other scansorial birds are; the wryneck (*Yunx torquilla*) and the common cuckoo, which there, as in other countries, leaves its eggs to the charge of some other bird, generally the white wagtail.

Several species of grouse are met with in Scandinavia, though, from the injudicious custom of killing them at all seasons, they are by no means so abundant as might be expected from the nature of the country. The most noble of these is the capercaillie, or wood-grouse (*Tetrao Urogallus*), once common in the British islands, and only extirpated from the north of Scotland about fifty years ago. The general colour of the plumage on the male is black, the wings brown, with black spots, the breast a glossy changeable green, the tail-feathers black, with white spots, and the eyebrows red. Their usual length is about two feet ten inches, and they weigh from nine to thirteen lbs., though, in the south of Sweden, they have been killed seventeen lbs. and upwards. The female is about a third less than the male, and her feathers are more irregularly marked with bars or spots of red, black, and white. She makes her nest on the ground, and lays from six to sixteen eggs. The usual food is the leaves of the Scotch fir, wild berries, and the buds of the birch; the young at first are fed on ants, worms, and insects. In the winter they often perch on the pine trees, or, in cold weather, hide themselves among the snow, where they are sometimes caught. In Sweden, they are frequently domesticated, and breed in confinement; and several attempts have been made to introduce them again into this country, but with only partial success.*

The blackcock (*Tetrao tetrix*) is frequently found in Northern Europe, as well as the racklehan (*Tetrao medius* of Meyer), usually though we believe erroneously

* A very interesting account of some of these experiments will be found in a paper by Mr Wilson in Jameson's Journal (July 1832), vol. xiii. p. 146. The Marquis of Breadalbane has also this year (1837) introduced above a score of capercaillies, with a view to their being liberated in the forest districts of Scotland. Lloyd, vol. i. p. 282, &c. Pontoppidan, part ii. p. 101.

regarded as a hybrid between it and the former species. The hazel hen (*Tetrao bonasia*), of a brown colour, and about the size of a partridge, abounds in the northern parts of Scandinavia, being seldom seen farther south than 69°. There are said to be two species of the ripa or ptarmigan, the fjall ripa and the dal ripa. The first of these inhabits the lofty mountains that rise above the forests, and in summer is speckled black, brown, or gray; in winter white, except the tail-feathers, which are black, tipped with white. The dal ripa frequents the woods, and is larger than the former, from which its plumage also differs, being reddish brown on the neck and breast, and dark brown on the back, turning white in winter. Both feed on the leaves, seeds, and buds of plants; and are so numerous in the north, that in one winter it is said that 60,000 were killed in a single parish.*

The partridge is common as far as 61° N., and the quail (*Perdix coturnix*) migrates to the southern provinces, where it also breeds during the summer.

The lakes, rivers, and marshes which abound in Scandinavia form a favourite resort of the grallatorial birds. The principal of these are plovers, the lapwing, with its beautiful crest and splendid iridescent colours, the oyster-catcher (*Haematopus ostralegus*), the land-rail, and the ruff or reeve. The heron is often seen, and in the south of Sweden and Denmark, the crane, avosset, and white stork, which builds its nest on the tops of the houses, and being thought a tutelary bird, is seldom disturbed. Scandinavia may be considered as the native abode of the woodcock and snipe, since in it they breed and rear their young, leaving it only when the frost, rendering the bogs and marshes impenetrable, deprives them of all food. They then retire to the south, and are said to extend their migrations even to Asia Minor and Northern Africa.

Vast numbers of water-fowl frequent the lakes and rivers of Sweden. The largest and most beautiful of

* Lloyd, vol. i. p. 306; vol. ii. p. 249. Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 692.

these is the swan, which occurs, not only domesticated, but also wild, during the summer months in the Lapland rivers. These are also the head-quarters of the wild goose, which is always gray, with an orange-coloured bill, and migrates to the south in winter. Wild ducks, widgeons, and teal abound in all the lakes, and especially in the reed-bed, covering some hundred acres, in the river near Gottenborg. The eider duck is found in Gothland, where it makes its nest under the juniper bushes, and lines it with the soft elastic down pulled from its breast.

The seacoast is frequented by flocks of gulls, terns, auks, petrels, &c., amongst which the corvorant sometimes appears, inhabiting rocks in the sea and trees near the beach; and the pelican has been seen in West Bothnia in the summer months.

ICHTHYOLOGY.—In countries possessing such an extent of seacoast, indented with numerous bays and creeks, and in which so large a portion of the surface is covered by rivers and lakes, fish may be expected to abound. We accordingly find both the sea and fresh waters swarming with various kinds, giving food and employment to many of the inhabitants. The fresh waters are filled with perch, pike, salmon, trout, grayling, char, roach, bleak, and eels. Of these the salmon is most important as an object of industry and commerce. They are more abundant in the Tornea and other great northern rivers than in those of the south, and fisheries are established on most of them. In the Gotha, below the cataracts, they are very plentiful, and are often caught in nets, weighing from forty to sixty, and even seventy pounds. In the streams that supply the Wener Lake, they are also numerous, and are thought by some to be the *Salmo hucho* found in the Danube, as the falls on the Gotha must prevent their return from the sea, if they migrated there like the common species. In one fishery, on the Clara, at Dejefoss, from 10,000 to 12,000 are taken annually, weighing on an average six or seven lbs., the largest rarely exceeding twenty. In the Wener and its tributary

streams there is excellent angling for trout, pike, and grayling ; and it is said that since the canals from it to the sea were opened, eels, formerly unknown in it, have made their appearance. A species of char, called *röding* by the Swedes (*Umbla minor*, Wil.), forms the most common, or rather the only fish of the lakes in the Lapland Alps. As these icy waters contain neither worms nor plants, the manner in which it subsists excited the astonishment of Linnæus. Other less familiar fresh water fish are the *lake*, or burbot (*Lota vulgaris*), the *id* (*Cyprinus idus*), the *nors*, or *slo*m, a small fish of a delicious flavour, and the *gwiniad* (*Coregonus lavaretus*).*

The sea-fish are not less numerous or important. The herring in vast shoals frequents the coasts of Norway and Denmark, and in the Liim Fiord great numbers are annually caught. Gottenborg was once celebrated for this fishery ; and it is said that 2,000,000 barrels, each containing from 1200 to 1300 herrings, have been obtained there in one year. This fish seems to leave the coast and to return to it at particular periods. In 1587, it appeared to have entirely forsaken it ; in 1660, they were again found in small numbers ; whilst since 1750 they are in such incredible multitudes, that hands are wanting to catch them.† The cod, whiting, haddock, torsk, ling, and other fish of the same genera, frequent the coasts of Denmark and Norway ; particularly the neighbourhood of the Lofoden islands, where immense quantities are taken every year. Flat fish (*Pleuronectes*), of which M. Faber enumerates fourteen species as found on the coast of Jütland, are also sought for by the fishers. The skate, thornback, and other rays, are often caught ; whilst the saw-fish and the voracious dog-fish (*Squalus acanthias*) inhabit the western sea. The mackerel is also very abundant ; and in the Baltic the common sturgeon is often obtained, where the sword-fish (*Xiphias gladius*), on rare occasions, sometimes finds its way.

Our limits will not permit us to enter on the natural

* Linn. Fauna Suecica. Lloyd, vol. i. pp. 233, 352, 383.

† Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 99. Hassel, p. 261.

history of the inferior classes of animals, and we shall only mention a few of the insects, of which many very beautiful species are found in the northern kingdoms. The great and constant heat of the summer there is more favourable to insect life than the frequent alternations that occur in other countries where the mean temperature of the whole year is higher. Thus the *Oryctes nasicornes*, which is extremely common in the south of Sweden, is unknown in the British islands, being unable to endure the cold that is sometimes felt in the midst of summer. That beautiful butterfly, the *Parnassius Apollo*, which inhabits the mountains of France, is very frequent in the Swedish provinces. Ants' nests are also often seen in the woods, four or five feet high, and the natives are said to eat these insects, and to distil them with rye to give a flavour to inferior kinds of brandy. The swarms of flies, gnats, and mosquitos found mostly in the northern parts of the kingdom are almost intolerable, even to the inhabitants. According to Dr Clarke, a stranger has always the precedence at a mosquito court, the insects leaving all others to pay their respects to him. They pierce through leather gloves, and compel the country people to smear themselves over with a mixture of tar and cream. In Lapland their numbers are so immense, that they have been compared to a heavy flight of snow, or to the dust of the earth, filling every place in such multitudes, that you cannot draw a breath without having your mouth filled, nor lie down to sleep, without fumigating the room till you are almost suffocated. Nor is it man only that suffers from these pests; the horse, cow, and rein-deer are each attacked by peculiar species, often producing diseases in this last that cause its death. The only useful insect which the Swedes possess to compensate them for these tormentors is the bee, and even this is seldom found in great numbers except near Malmo in the south.*

* Kirby's *Introduct. to Ent.* vol. iv. pp. 484, 491; vol. i. p. 11. Clarke's *Travels*, vol. v. p. 313. Linn. *Lach. Lap.* vol. i. p. 208.

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